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The Relationship between Mainstream Radio Music, Vulgar Lyrics, and Race and the Impact on the Criminal Black Male Stereotype.

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by

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DEDICATION

To Harper Davis, Sr., Teresa Kanga, and Ike Brown, Jr.

Thank you for your life, love, and laughter.

You are missed.

ABSTRACT

The Relationship between Mainstream Radio Music, Vulgar Lyrics, and Race and the Impact on the Criminal Black Male Stereotype

The criminal Black male stereotype, cemented in early American literature, has been perpetuated in movies, TV shows**,** and now on mainstream radio. For this study, Billboard song lyrics were analyzed for three main themes—violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol. Billboard song rankings are based on digital download sales, radio airplay, and Internet streaming. The researcher found that the songs played on hip hop and rap genre radio stations contained lyrics that strongly correlated with the three themes. The researcher also examined whether a relationship existed between artist's race and lyrics about violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol. Black artists comprised 48% of the artists studied; compared to White artists' lyrics, Black artists' lyrics contained the majority of instances of each theme. The Federal Communications Commission does not restrict vulgar lyrical content played on hip hop and rap radio stations. In addition, according to studies of media influence on the social perceptions of racial groups and history of the Black male's role in entertainment, the mainstream radio industry selects Black artists whose lyrical themes show a prevalence of violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

The criminal Black male stereotype has its origins in early American culture and entertainment. Entertainment in America has been used to shape and explain specific social discord, perceived injustices, and even politics. The criminal Black male, known as the "Black Brute," was introduced into American literature and entertainment during the Radical Reconstruction period (1867–1877; Pilgrim, 2013). The Black Brute caricature portrayed Black men as innately savage, animalistic, destructive, and deserving of punishment (Pilgrim, 2013). The Brute was an inherently sociopathic, antisocial menace. Black Brutes were depicted as hideous, terrifying predators who targeted helpless victims, especially White women (Breckinridge, 1900).

Thomas Nelson Page (1898) was one of the first writers to introduce a literary Black Brute. In 1898, Page published *Red Rock*, a Reconstruction novel containing the heinous character of Moses, a loathsome and sinister Black politician. Moses tried to rape a White woman: "He gave a snarl of rage and sprang at her like a wild beast" (Page, 1898, pp. 356–358). Moses was later lynched for "a terrible crime" (Page, 1898, pp. 356-358). The "terrible crime" most often mentioned in connection with the Black brute was rape, specifically the rape of White women (Page, 1898, pp. 356-358). By the beginning of the 20th century, much of the virulent, anti-Black propaganda had entered scientific journals, local newspapers, and best-selling novels, focusing on the stereotype of the Black Brute (Pilgrim, 2015).

The Black American male has been synonymous with violence, crime, and social deviancy; however, the profitability of the caricature in American entertainment from the time of the "Black Brute" to "thug" and "gangster" has grown and become increasingly marketable globally (Jackson p.117). No longer is literature the realm of the Black antagonist; now the caricature inhabits hip hop and rap music radio, accessible in every automobile, on the Internet, and on mobile phones. Although radio cannot compete with television and movies on its own, radio stations' partnerships with corporations whose products are mentioned in the lyrics of music played on hip hop and rap radio accessorize the common Black male stereotype and make it more accessible, repetitive, and perpetual, compared to television and movies (Miles, 2011).

Hip hop and rap music stemmed from a resistance movement in the 1970s. Rap music, one form of hip hop, became more mainstream in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This form of hip hop was used to voice extreme opposition to the dominant culture, thus representing the struggle of disadvantaged Black youth in the urban ghettos of the South Bronx and later of South Central Los Angeles (Martinez, 1997). Rap music, when first introduced as a genre, comprised rhythm, rhyme, and feel-good lyrics used for parties. Although at first rap music was used as an outlet for frivolity, it soon became a tool for oppressed inner-city youth to explore the history of race relations and their own lived experiences in comparison to the ideologies of White people (Harkness, 2011). To many, and not just to African Americans, rap music became the voice of resistance, a countercultural expression of protest (Kitwana, 2003). The time between the late 1980s to the early 1990s was commonly known as the "Golden Era" because of rap music's diversity, quality, innovation, and influence (Neville, Tynes, & Utsey, 2009). Local

artists produced rap music, which was played by locally owned urban radio stations that served the same communities the artists were from. Politicians and major corporations noticed rap radio's success, social influence, and profitability during this so-called golden era. However, because of urban radios' individual ownership structure and the fact that stations' catered to the hip hop palates of their unique audiences, major corporations remained on the outside of the genre until the Telecommunications Act of 1996.

Evolution of Rap and Obscenity

Recording Industry Association of America. In 1985, the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) worked with the National Parent Teacher Association (National PTA) and the Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC) to address concerns regarding explicit content in sound recordings (RIAA, 2016). The organizations reached an agreement that certain music releases containing explicit lyrics, including explicit depictions of violence and sex, would be identified so parents could make intelligent listening choices for their children. After pressure from the PMRC, albums began to receive labels for "explicit lyrics" in 1985 (RIAA, 2016). The first albums to be labeled for explicit lyrics included Prince's *Purple Rain* (1984), Megadeth's *Peace Sells...but Who's Buying?* (1986), Danzig's self-titled album (1988), Soundgarden's *Louder Than Love* (1989), Guns N' Roses' *Appetite for Destruction* (1987), and 2 Live Crew's *As Nasty as They Wanna Be* (1989). The labels took the form of stickers on the cellophane wrap. The first hip hop album to receive the label was Ice-T's debut album *Rhyme Pays*, released in 1987 (Billboard.com, 2016). The lyrics, associated with gangsta rap, popularized the genre (Pitofsky, 2001).

In 1990, the sticker was introduced as a square showing a dotted white line near the center of the sticker (RIAA, 2016). The phrase “Explicit Lyrics” was marked on the top and “Parental Advisory” on the bottom (RIAA, 2016). The first album to bear the standard nonremovable sticker was Luke & the 2 Live Crew’s 1990 album *Banned in the USA*. Since 1992, albums to which the label applied were required to have the label placed on the album artwork (Lamy, Duckworth, & Kennedy, 2014). This incarnation of the logo was used until late 1993, when a white box in a black rectangle replaced the white bar between black bars. In 1994, the “Parental” and “Advisory” fonts were simplified, and “Explicit Lyrics” was replaced with “Explicit Content,” although this design was not prevalent on most albums until 1996 (RIAA, 2016).

In 2001, the “Parental Advisory” and “Explicit Content” fonts were modified (“Explicit Lyrics” was later dropped from the labels after appearing for a few years alongside “Explicit Content”; Lamy et al., 2014). However, currently, not all albums that contain profanity carry a Parental Advisory label. A lesser-used variation of the sticker shows the term “Parental Guidance,” which was used before “Parental Advisory.” This was seen on albums such as Fatboy Slim’s *Halfway between the Gutter and the Stars*, UK copies of Alanis Morissette’s *Jagged Little Pill*, Britney Spears’s *Blackout*, and some copies of Metallica’s *Garage Inc.* (Lamy et al., 2014).

Obscenity versus Art

On February 26, 1990, a Broward County Deputy Sheriff Nick Navarro purchased a cassette copy of the album from a local record store and transcribed the lyrics (Lemoyne, 1990). The lyrics and the tape were sent to Broward Circuit Court Judge Mel Grossman, requesting that he find probable cause that the album was legally obscene. On

March 9, the judge complied (Lemoyne, 1990). The sheriff's office then sent letters to record store owners as a "courtesy," warning them that they could be arrested under Florida obscenity laws if they sold the album (Gallagher & Gaertner, 1992). In return, 2 Live Crew sued Sheriff Nick Navarro for intimidating record store owners into pulling 2 Live Crew albums from store shelves (Lemoyne, 1990).

United States District Court Judge Jose Gonzalez for the Southern District of Florida heard the case on June 6, 1990. Judge Gonzalez applied the Miller obscenity test, which was based on a 1973 ruling that dealt with distribution of porn (Skyywalker Records, Inc. v. Navarro, 1990). The Miller test required the following three standards for the work to be considered obscene: (a) The average person, applying contemporary community standards, would find that the work, taken as a whole, appeals to the prurient interest; (b) measured by contemporary community standards, the work depicts or describes, in a patently offensive way, sexual conduct specifically defined by the applicable state law; and (c) the work, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value (Cornell University Law, 2016). The Miller test had never before been used to test for obscenity in music; the test stipulated that the work in question had to lack "serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value." However, the song "Me So Horny" from the *As Nasty As They Wanna Be* album had already reached Number 26 on the Billboard Hot 100 music charts. Thus, to find the album legally obscene, Judge Gonzalez had to declare that an album containing a Top 40 hit had no artistic value (Billboard, 2014).

Judge Gonzalez ruled against 2 Live Crew, calling the album "an appeal directed to the 'dirty' thoughts and the loins, not to the intellect and the mind" (Gallagher &

Gaertner, 1992). Thus, on June 6, 1990, *As Nasty as They Wanna Be* was declared officially obscene and therefore illegal to sell and perform in three Florida counties. The first arrest came two days later on June 8, when record store retailer Charles Freeman sold the album to an undercover police officer (Lemoyne, 1990). Then on June 10, 1990, 2 Live Crew played their first concert after the ruling in Broward County. Three of the four members were arrested (Lemoyne, 1990).

On May 7, 1992, the 11th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals overturned the obscenity decision, all charges were dropped, and all that had gone before was undone (Chang, 2005). An interesting witness for the band was a Rhodes Scholar named Carlton Long, who testified that the album contained the oral traditions and musical conventions known as call-and-response, doing the dozens, and boasting, which derived from segments of African American culture and therefore had artistic value (Beatty, 1991). The court agreed. Before this ruling, rap music had already been considered edgy and lyrically more abrasive than other mainstream music (Phillips, 2008). With this appeal, rap artists could produce music with vulgar language, extreme profanity, and sexually explicit language without fear of legal consequences or boycotts.

Telecommunications Act of 1996

On February 8, 1996, President Bill Clinton signed the Telecommunications Act, the first overhaul of the American telecommunications policy in over 60 years (Krattenmaker, 1996). It lifted the caps on radio ownership, allowing media conglomerates to purchase hundreds of radio stations and consolidate them under one format (Krattenmaker, 1996). This consolidation has resulted in the stagnation of local artist success and public discourse in the Black community, nationalized playlists, the

mergers of multinational corporations, and most important, an unnatural shift in the evolution of commercial rap music. Radio deregulation has left the public airwaves dominated by a few companies, notably, Clear Channel Media, Cumulus, Citadel, and Viacom. The mergers laid off hundreds and decimated community programming and standardized playlists. Clear Channel Media, the biggest beneficiary owned 1,240 stations by 2003, and its closest competitor Cumulus owned 248 (Chang, 2005, pp. 441–442). Record labels already controlled radio airplay; in the 2000s, the limited power of the artist was placed in the hands of White executives who had no organic links to the music culture, only a focus on the bottom line. The result of this power shift was that the misogynistic, materialistic, and self-indulgent caricatures and criminal portrayals of hip hop artists were the only ones promoted—because it had been proven by statistical methods of communication research (e.g., Soundscan) that these portrayals were the most profitable. Socially conscious rap music was banished to the underground, and gangsta rap artists became the face of the culture. The most vulgar artists of the hip hop genre became the norm and obtained lucrative food, beverage, shoe, and vehicle endorsements. With 243 million monthly U.S. listeners, Clear Channel Media has the largest reach of any radio outlet in America (iHeartmedia Inc., 2014). The company's playlists are consistent nationally to appeal to the corporate endorsements that thrive on the criminal Black male persona portrayed through urban radio (iHeartmedia Inc., 2014).

Problem Statement

Negative representations of Black males are readily visible and conveyed to the public through the news, film, music videos, reality television, and the most accessible medium, radio. Black males' roles typically include playing the Black sidekick of a

White protagonist, the comedic relief, the athlete, the over-sexed ladies' man, the absentee father, or most damaging, the violent Black man as drug-dealing criminal and gangster thug (Burton, Burton, McHale, King, & Van Hook, 2017). Since the Telecommunications Act of 1996, mainstream urban radio stations, specifically Clear Channel Media, which has the largest reach of any radio outlet in America (Krattenmaker, 1996), select Black artists whose lyrical themes focus on violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol.

Rationale and Purpose

This study will explore critical race theory, which is a theoretical framework in the social sciences focused upon the application of critical theory, a critical examination of society and culture, to the intersection of race, law, and power(Delgado, & Stefancic, 2012). In 2005, the U.S. Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics released a report entitled, "Contacts between Police and the Public: Findings from the 2002 National Survey." The authors of the report described findings from a sample of 80,000 Americans regarding traffic stops and the circumstances surrounding contact with police (Bureau of Justice, 2016). The authors found that police stopped 9% of White drivers, 9% of Black drivers, and 9% of Hispanic drivers (Bureau of Justice, 2016). However, African Americans and Hispanics were much less likely to be issued a simple traffic warning from police during these traffic stops and were much more likely to be searched (person or vehicle), handcuffed, and arrested (Bureau of Justice, 2016). Even though the same percentage of Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics were stopped by police (9%), African Americans were three times more likely to be searched (person or vehicle) than Whites,

more than three times more likely to be handcuffed, and almost three times more likely to be arrested (Bureau of Justice, 2016).

Criminal data associated with this study showed five major findings: (a) Blacks are seven times more likely than people of other races to commit murder and eight times more likely to commit robbery; (b) when Blacks commit crimes of violence, they are nearly three times more likely than non-Blacks to use guns and more than twice as likely to use knives; (c) the single best indicator of violent crime levels in an area is the percentage of the population that is Black; (d) Blacks are an estimated 39 times more likely to commit a violent crime against Whites than vice versa and136 times more likely to commit robbery; and (e) Blacks are seven times more likely to be in prison than are Whites (Taylor, 2005). Items a, b, d, and e are statistics; however, item c is a social perception of Black Americans that is consistently used in research without any data. As discussed earlier, media and marketing have a direct link to social perception, acceptance, and actions.

Significance of the Study

Many researchers have examined whether violent, misogynistic lyrics cause violent, misogynistic behaviors in listeners. Studies have shown that violent song lyrics increase negative emotions and thoughts that can lead to aggression; misogynistic lyrics have negatively influenced listeners' views toward women. However, the studies have only examined the lyrics' effects on listeners and not the people of of whom those lyrics are referencing.

This study is significant because it examines the multi-tier relationship between three elements: the types of music played on mainstream radio, vulgar lyrics, and race.

This study identifies and examines the current stereotypes and biases that exist in mainstream radio and how those biases are used to perpetuate the criminal and deviant perception of black males in this country. The commodified representation of hip hop music has reinforced Whites' historically negative attitudes as the music has become a dominant cultural representation of Blackness. As authentic rap has become defined by mediated ghetto, gangster, misogynistic, materialistic, and violent images, the mediated images have begun to be associated with authentic Blackness. In short, White America has begun filtering definitions of Blackness through historically negative perceptions perpetuated by the gangster rap persona and will not accept any images outside of these as "Black" (Rose, 2008).

Dissertation Goal

The purpose of this study was to analyze the relationship between the types of music played on mainstream urban radio, vulgar lyrics, and race. This dissertation used secondary data consisting of web data sources and quantitative radio data. The data were used to compare genres of music, themes of lyrics, and artists' race. Previous studies concerning race and rap relations are presented in Chapter 2 to provide the context and history of obscenity in rap music and radio censorship.

Research Questions

The following research questions guided the study:

RQ1. Is there a relationship between lyrics played on hip hop and rap genre stations and other genre stations with respect to lyric content, as measured by frequency of mentions of violence, misogyny, and drug/alcohol use?

RQ2. Is there a relationship between lyrics that contain mentions of violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol and race of the artist?

Alternative hypothesis. The songs played on rap radio stations will contain a greater number of violent, misogynistic, and drug/alcohol-related lyrics, compared to other music genres. Further, the majority of artists responsible for the rap songs will be Black males.

Researcher's Position

The researcher approached this study from the position of participant and scholar of the culture. The researcher is both Black and male, consistent with the idea that rap music is an industry dominated by Black males. The researcher experienced rap music and rap radio before the 1996 Telecommunications Act, when hip hop comprised various subgenres. Hip hop radio stations played songs ranging from conscious rap to gangsta rap from artists like Mos Def and Snoop Dog. After 1996, hip hop radio became commercialized, narcissistic, and vulgar; hence, how Black youth viewed themselves became darker and sinister. The lyrics of the new urban radio music implied it was no longer acceptable to simply have a good time with friends or go to a party just to dance or fall in love. Urban radio became dangerous, violent, deviant, and focused on pursuing and objectifying women for sexual purposes rather than for relationships. Violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol became the substance of the lyrics, and consequently, the identity of those within the culture.

Barriers and Issues

The data collected in the study were rooted in social perspective and ideology. The social perception of Black American males as criminal and dangerous has appeared

in all areas of media and entertainment. Although not all Americans believe this stereotype, studies have shown that racial stereotypes existed in early American culture (Katz & Braly, 1933). Katz and Braly reported the results of a questionnaire completed by students at Princeton University. The students were given a list of nationalities and ethnic groups (e.g., Irish, Germans) and a list of 84 personality traits (Katz & Braly, 1933). The participants were asked to pick out five or six traits they thought typical of each group (Katz & Braly, 1933). Most students at that time would have been White; the pictures showed Jews as shrewd and mercenary, Japanese as shrewd and sly, Negroes as lazy and happy-go-lucky, and Whites as industrious and intelligent (Katz & Braly, 1933). The results showed Whites were seen as industrious, progressive, and ambitious, and African Americans were seen as lazy, ignorant, and musical (Katz & Braly, 1933). Like modern study participants, the students were comfortable rating ethnic groups with whom they had no personal contact (Katz & Braly, 1933).

Limitations and Delimitations

Limitations. Many artists' music is no longer confined to one genre. The artists and songs used in this research were not assigned to a specific genre by the researcher, but by Billboard. Although the FCC regulates obscene and indecent lyrics, definitions and penalties are vague and undefined (U.S. FCC, 2014). To date, researchers have found no substantial links between violent rap music and an increase in crime. Researchers who study incarceration rates and crime rates may be from the same professional field but record statistics using different criteria, thus producing datum that is not consistent between the two.

Delimitations. This study did not include any subgenres or hybrid music genres such as conscious rap, old school hip hop or country western. The researcher did not compare the rate at which certain genres or artists were played in different geographic locations. Artists who appeared in more than one genre were counted for each genre in which their songs were played.

Definitions of Terms

Beef. *Beef* is a synonym for *complaint* or *grievance* (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2017).

Black or African American. A Black or African American is a person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa. The racial designation includes people who indicate their race as *Black* or *African American* or provide written nationalities such as *Kenyan*, *Nigerian*, or *Haitian* (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2017).

Criminal activity. For this study, criminal activity encompasses any first-person reference to participation in, commission of, or glorification of a criminal act by the artist or an associate (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2017).

Drugs/alcohol. For this study, drugs/alcohol refers to any reference to the possession/consumption/use of or glorification of the possession/consumption/use of alcohol or drugs(Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2017).

Gangsta rap. Gangsta rap is rap music with lyrics explicitly portraying the violence and drug use of urban gang life and typically expressing hostility toward Whites, women, and civil authority (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2017).

Misogynist. A misogynist is a person who hates women (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2017) .

Negro. This term, sometimes considered offensive, refers to a member of a race of humankind native to Africa (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2017).

Other. The *other* racial category includes all other responses not included in the White, Black or African American, American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander race categories previously described (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2017).

Profanity. Profanity is offensive language and may include words that a news anchor could not say on air without citing or quoting a source (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2017).

Sexuality. For this study, sexuality refers to any first-person reference, direct or implied, to a sexual act or any reference to any person or situation in a sexual context (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2017).

Violence. For this study, violence refers to any first-person reference to participation in, threat of, or glorification of a violent act by the artist or an associate (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2017).

Vulgar. Vulgar is an adjective describing explicit and offensive reference to sex or explicit language (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2017).

White. A White person originates from any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa. White includes people who indicate their race as *White* (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2017).

Summary

In this chapter, the researcher set the stage for this study by providing the problem statement that was the foundation of this dissertation. In addition, the dissertation goal,

the relevance and significance of the research proposed, and the definitions of terms were presented. The direction of this study focused on the relationship between the lyric content of the music played on the radio by genre and race. The Black American male has been portrayed as a villain since early American literature and even through current forms of media entertainment. Portraying Black males as villainous has been a marketable and profitable practice with a long history in entertainment. Identifying the links between music genres played on the radio and the race of the music artists will help consumers understand that the songs on the radio do not adequately define the artists, but are instead stereotypical perspectives that are used for profit.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter 2 provides insights into the background and historical perspective of rap and hip hop music. The chapter opens with a discussion of violence in the Black community. Definitions of hip hop and rap music are presented, as well as discussions of the origins of hip hop and rap music, social and cultural ties, and researchers' findings on hip hop and rap music's political influence and social impact after the 1996 Telecommunications Act. Perceptions of those associated with the genre are presented. The issue of lyrics is discussed, followed by a review of media and entertainment influence, the commercialism of hip hop, and the criminalization of the Black male. The chapter closes with a summary.

Violence in the Black Community

Hutchinson and Haynes (2012) described the history of African American ghettos; like Jewish ghettos in Europe, African American ghettos began with residential segregation. For contemporary Americans, both Black and White, the word *ghetto* has generally come to be associated with inner city neighborhoods where poor Black people live (Anderson, 2012, pp. 9). The term *ghetto* refers to the neighborhoods in which Blacks have been concentrated; in popular parlance, it is "the Black side of town," or "the 'hood." Over time, through ethnic and racial residential succession, ghetto areas expand and contract (Anderson, 2012, pp. 9). As they threaten to engulf nearby neighborhoods, economically better-off Whites and others tend to flee (Anderson, 2012, pp. 10). Alternatively, gentrifying neighborhoods on the edge of the ghetto may draw well-off

Whites and others (Anderson, 2012). For both Blacks and Whites, the term *ghetto* is usually pejorative (Anderson, 2012, pp. 10). Outsiders typically have little direct experience with the ghetto; they gain their perspectives from the media, from tales shared by friends, from fleeting glimpses of ghetto inhabitants' downtown, or in some cases, from having been threatened by residential racial succession themselves, as their own neighborhoods have moved toward becoming ghettos (Anderson, 2012, pp. 9). Accordingly, outsiders imagine the ghetto as impoverished, chaotic, lawless, drug-infested, and ruled by violence (Anderson, 2012, pp. 9). Like most stereotypes, this image contains elements of truth, but it is for the most part false.

Although Black people initially lived near the elite Whites they served, in both northern and southern cities, the conjoined processes of racial segregation and Black community formation led to the concentration of Black city-dwellers moving to specific neighborhoods, even before Emancipation. As Black people migrated from the rural South to southern and northern cities after the end of Reconstruction, they joined those expanding enclaves (Anderson, 2012, pp. 10). By the early 20th century, Blacks and recent immigrants were consigned to dilapidated neighborhoods near the urban core, and working-class Whites began moving to the inner suburbs, facilitated first by mass transit and later by highway construction and the expansion of car ownership (Anderson, 2012, pp. 10). As Black residential areas continued to expand, Whites moved away (Anderson, 2012, pp. 10). The cycle of block-busting, White flight, neighborhood succession, and red-lining evident in the 1960s was already at work at the end of World War II (Massey & Denton, 1988). From the point of view of many Whites, Black people were to be contained in the ghetto. Blacks responded by creating myriad class-mixed social and

religious institutions and a vibrant cultural life (Cooper, 2002, pp. 110). Blacks found acceptance and security there that to some degree countered the hostile discrimination they faced outside their communities (Anderson, 2012, pp. 10). A uniquely American style of racial segregation, even apartheid, developed that not only relegated African Americans to second-class citizenship but also confined them to delimited, "ghetto-ized" spaces in the city.

Gorman-Smith and Tolan (1998) studied the role of exposure to community violence and developmental problems among inner city youth. In this study, data were drawn from a sample of 245 African American and Latino boys and their caregivers from economically disadvantaged inner city neighborhoods in Chicago (Gorman-Smith & Tolan, 1998). Exposure to community violence related to increases in aggressive behavior and depression over a 1-year period even after controlling for previous status (Tolan & Gorman-Smith, 1998). The results showed that African American youth living in low-income inner city neighborhoods faced daily social and economic disadvantages that put them at heightened risk for adjustment difficulties and psychopathology (Tolan & Gorman-Smith, 1998).

The challenges these children face are numerous; however, the most significant stressor may be the violence that these children are exposed to in their communities. Exposure to pervasive community violence disrupts a child's psychological development and may lead to difficulties interacting with and relating to others (Tolan & Gorman-Smith, 1998). Moreover, children living in inner city communities are exposed to violence repeatedly and chronically because of the pervasive amounts of violence occurring in their neighborhoods (Richters & Martinez, 1993).

Department of Justice researchers for the Action Partnership on Interventions for Black Children Exposed to Violence and Victimization program (2009) conducted a national survey of children's exposure to violence. The findings indicated that more than 60% of children from birth to 17 years experienced victimization, and 38% witnessed violence sometime during childhood (Finkelhor, Turner, Ormrod, & Hamby, 2009)). Compared with other segments of the population, victimization rates for African American children and youth were even higher (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2016). Evidence has shown that Black youth ages 12 to 19 are victims of violent crime at significantly higher rates, compared to their White peers (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2016). Black youth are three times more likely to be victims of reported child abuse or neglect, three times more likely to be victims of robbery, and five times more likely to be victims of homicide (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2016). In fact, homicide is the leading cause of death among African American youth aged 15 to 24 (Anderson & Smith, 2005). Living in urban environments increases the risk of exposure to violence and one quarter of low-income urban youths have witnessed a murder (Buka, Stichick, Birdthistle, & Earls, 2001).

Buka et al. (2001) studied a group of inner city 7-year-olds. Seventy-five percent had heard gunshots, 60% had seen drug deals, 18% had seen a dead body outside, and 10% had seen a shooting or stabbing at home (Buka et al., 2001). Similarly, Bell and Jenkins (2004) found approximately 25% of Black children in Chicago reported witnessing a person shot, and 29% indicated they had seen a stabbing. After one of the children participating in the study described the violent deaths of seven close family

members, an 8-year-old remarked that “just” three people in her family had died violently (Bell & Jenkins, 2004.

This exposure to violence occurs through witnessing violence and through violent victimization; some researchers have reported that 60% to 70% of inner city youth have been victimized by at least one violent act, and 80% to 90% have witnessed violence in their community (Bender & Roberts, 2009). Moreover, the violence experienced by these children is often severe (Bender & Roberts, 2009).

For many Whites and people of other races and ethnicities, the media’s portrayal of Black men and boys is the primary basis for their knowledge and emotional reaction (Dixon, 2008). With a few notable examples in politics, most media present Black men as figures to be admired for their athletic, artistic, or entertainment talent or feared for their criminality (Dixon, 2008). For those whose knowledge of race has been mediated largely through the media, race itself triggers a complex set of emotions: fear, envy, anxiety, but also admiration and desire (Dixon, 2008).

Dixon (2008) analyzed the psychological effects of overrepresenting White victims and Black perpetrators on television news. Participants were exposed to a crime story in a 3 × 3 × 2 factorial design (Victim race: Black, White, or unidentified; (Perpetrator race: Black, White, or unidentified; Stereotype endorsement: high, low; Dixon, 2008). Afterward, participants were asked whether they (a) viewed the featured perpetrator as threatening, (b) endorsed punitive crime policies, and (c) believed a subsequently described suspect was culpable for his offense (Dixon, 2008). The findings revealed that stereotype endorsers were more likely than were stereotype rejecters to find the suspect most threatening when he appeared African American or was left unidentified

(Dixon, 2008). In addition, stereotype endorsers were more likely than were rejecters to endorse punitive crime policy (Dixon, 2008). Finally, participants were most likely to find a subsequent suspect culpable after viewing a news story containing a White victim and Black perpetrator (Dixon, 2008). The reverse was true when the news story featured a Black perpetrator and Black victim (Dixon, 2008).

Payne (2001) sought to determine if stereotypical associations between Blacks and crime affected participants' visual processing. Payne used a sequential priming paradigm to examine the association between Blacks and criminality. First, Payne primed participants with a Black face or a White face on a computer screen and then displayed a gun or a tool. In a forced-choice format, participants were required to indicate by pushing a button whether the object displayed was a gun or a tool and to do so as quickly as possible. Payne found that people who were exposed to Black faces correctly identified guns more quickly than did people exposed to White faces and were more likely when under time pressure to misidentify a tool as a gun, compared to people exposed to White faces (Eberhardt et al., 2004). Payne interpreted this misidentification effect as an automatic perceptual bias.

Sigelman and Tuch (1996) showed that Blacks were more likely than other racial or ethnic group to be characterized by Whites as violent, more likely to abuse drugs, and more likely to engage in crime, compared to Whites. A General Social Survey question in 1990 showed that 54% of Whites believed that Blacks were prone to violence. In 1991, the National Race Survey showed that a clear majority of both Whites and Blacks agreed with the statement "Blacks are aggressive or violent" (Sniderman & Piazza, 1993). In support of these findings, other research has indicated that the public generally associates

violent street crime with Blacks (Hawkins, 1987). Moreover, the results of a more recent study corroborated the prevalence of this belief: A majority of Whites characterized Blacks as aggressive (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1998). Other nationwide research has shown that the public believes Blacks are involved in a greater percentage of violent crime than official statistics indicate they actually are (Chiricos, Welch, & Gertz, 2004; Welch, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2002).

Hip Hop Culture

Evans (2008) studied popular rap music and the politics of the hip hop generation. Evans discussed how authors and supporters of hip hop culture have suggested that rap music has the potential to serve as a vehicle for the next stage of the Civil Rights Movement, and specifically, to help identify which political issues are most important to the hip hop generation and what popular rap songs have addressed those issues. For example, M. K. Asante, Jr., (2008) an American author, filmmaker, musician, and professor, has used hip hop as a springboard for a larger discussion about the social and political issues affecting this generation and how the music reflects those issues. Asante states that after the acceptance of gangsta rap as the most authentic representation of the hip hop communities, the revelation of prominent White consumerism caused the music industry to shift toward only promoting artists with violent and misogynistic lyrical content (Asante, 2008).

Reeves (2009) detailed rap music's rise to prominence in the aftershock of the Black Power movement. Reeves described the evolution of the role of the emcee (rapper) from Nuevo entertainer to cultural/racial spokesperson and sociopolitical lightning rod for Black America after the demise of the Black Power movement. The emcee's role has

been complicated by numerous factors. These include socioeconomic oppression; the complicated relationship between Black Americans and law enforcement, past and present; the rise of street gang activity and the desperation of the 1980s crack cocaine epidemic; globalization and technological advancement; and the Telecommunications Act of 1996 (Reeves, 2009). Reeves's work was referenced within my analysis to further the discussion of the prominent practitioners of the emceeing (rapping) element of hip hop culture and how the characterizations of these practitioners have been altered because of rap's increasing financial worth (Johnson, 2011). The timing of the aforementioned piece of public policy correlated with events that have continued to affect the evolution of rap music (Johnson, 2011, p. 10).

Ogbar (2007) identified a new subgenre within hip hop called gangsta rap. These two movements conflicted with one another; gangsta rap ultimately influenced New York's offshoot, Mafioso rap, and became the primary representation of hip hop music (Johnson, 2011, p. 3). These separate cradles of rap music expanded to include the development of a third cradle of cultural expression in the southern United States (Johnson, 2011, p. 3).

Rose (2008) discussed the prevalence of the "gangsta/pimp/ho trinity" as the images the commercial rap music industry has chosen to help them sell records to the detriment of the Black community (p. 11). The trinity is not discussed in this analysis, but rather, how the projection of these images came about, and why.

Reeves (2009) found that despite the mainstreaming of rap music and its thug fascination, the music was still the unmitigated voice of young Black and brown

Americans; Reeves traced the emcee's accent out of rap music's first commercialization to become the prototypical man/woman of the people.

Conrad, Dixon, and Zhang (2009) examined the relationships between African American audiences, rap music videos, Black collective self-esteem, and attitudes toward women. One hundred and forty-one African American college students participated in a survey measuring their amount of rap music video viewing, collective self-esteem, Afrocentric identity, and their belief that rap degrades women (Conrad et al., 2009). The results showed that viewers who consumed more rap music videos also had a higher sense of collective self-esteem (Conrad et al., 2009). Additionally, individuals who had strong Afrocentric features tended to identify with rap music videos that contained characters with strong Afrocentric features (Conrad et al., 2009). Finally, consumption of misogynistic rap content was negatively related to the belief that rap music degrades women (Conrad et al., 2009).

Reyna, Brandt, and Viki (2009) researched the stereotypes associated with rap music and hip hop culture and measured how those stereotypes may influence anti-Black attitudes and justifications for discrimination. In three studies using a representative sample from America, as well as samples from two different countries, Reyna et al. (2009) found that negative stereotypes about rap are pervasive and have powerful consequences. In all three samples, negative attitudes toward rap were associated with various measures of negative stereotypes of Blacks that blamed Blacks for their economic plights (via stereotypes of laziness; Reyna et al., 2009). Antirap attitudes were also associated with discrimination against Blacks, through both personal and political behaviors (Reyna et al., 2009). In both American samples, the link between antirap

attitudes and discrimination was partially or fully mediated by stereotypes that conveyed Blacks' responsibility (Reyna et al., 2009). This legitimizing pattern was not found in the UK sample, suggesting that antirap attitudes were used to reinforce beliefs that Blacks did not deserve social benefits in American society, but may not be used as legitimizing beliefs in other cultures (Reyna et al., 2009).

Lyrics about Misogyny, Violence, and Drugs/Alcohol

Binder (1993) examined news articles written about the negative influence of heavy metal and rap music. Criticism of heavy metal focused on what Binder termed a "corruption" frame. Concerns centered on the negative impact the music had on the listeners, leading them into a life of drug and alcohol use, risky sexual behavior, suicide, and a belief in the occult (Fried, 2003). The argument was that this music would corrupt otherwise good kids and lead them astray (Fried, 2003, p. 5). The primary criticism raised about rap music fell within what Binder termed a "danger to society" frame; the concerns centered on how rap would create fans who were a threat to society as a whole. The news articles raised fears that rap fans would commit rape, murder, violence, and other crimes against society (Fried, 2003, p. 5). Under this frame, critics showed little concern for the listeners themselves; the concern was for what the listeners would do to other people.

Binder (1993) found the same pattern in the criticisms raised by politicians during debates about censoring or controlling the content of music lyrics. Debates about heavy metal music focused on the need to protect the children; however, debates about rap music focused on the safety of the general public (Binder, 1993, p.753). Binder (1993) hypothesized that these different reactions were attributable to two related processes. One was race: Rap was associated with Black audiences, and heavy metal was associated with

White audiences (Binder, 1993, p. 755). The other was group membership: Heavy metal was seen as the music "our kids" listen to, but rap audiences were seen as outsiders (Binder, 1993). Rap fans were seen as young, urban, Black males, and heavy metal fans were seen as young, suburban, White males (Binder, 1993, p. 754). The public may have been concerned that the heavy-metal fan would throw away a promising future, but was unconcerned about the rap fan, except for the possibility that the rap fan may pose a threat (Binder, 1993). The perception that rap is a Black urban phenomenon persists despite the fact that many rap fans are White and suburban (Epstein, Pratto, & Skipper, 1990).

Misogyny. In a recent content analysis of six types of media, Pardun, L'Engle, and Brown (2005) found that music in particular contained substantially more sexual content than any other media outlets. Sexually explicit and derogatory lyrics were especially apparent in rap music, which has been criticized for its graphic derogatory presentation of women using lyrics that objectify, exploit, or victimize them (Cobb & Boettcher, 2007; Weitzer & Kubrin, 2009). Adams and Fuller (2006) asserted that rap music reduces women to objects "that are only good for sex and abuse," which "perpetuate ideas, values, beliefs, and stereotypes that debase women" (p. 940). Adams and Fuller also noted six themes common in misogynistic rap music and further examined three of them: derogatory statements about women in relation to sex; statements involving violent actions toward women, particularly in relation to sex; and references of women as usable and disposable beings.

Armstrong (2001) conducted a content analysis of 490 rap songs published from 1987 to 1993; 22% contained lyrics featuring violence against women, including assault,

rape, and murder. His study classified rap songs into different categories in which rappers either prided themselves on sex acts appearing to harm women, justified other acts of violence, warned women who challenged male domination that they would be assaulted, or seemed to invite male violence against women (Armstrong, 2001).

Weitzer and Kubrin (2009) conducted a follow-up study analyzing the portrayal of women in 403 rap songs through a content analysis in which themes of derogatory naming and shaming of women, sexual objectification of women, distrust of women, legitimation of violence against women, and celebration of prostitution and pimping appeared at the highest frequency. Sexual objectification occurred in 67% of the misogynistic lyrics in the songs sampled (Weitzer & Kubrin, 2009).

Violence. Tropeano (2006) studied whether rap or rock music provoked violent behavior. Tropeano examined whether watching a violent music video would provoke individuals to answer questions with violent responses. Eleven participants watched a violent music video, 11 participants watched a nonviolent music video, and 11 participants were in the control group and did not watch any videos (Tropeano, 2006). Watching the violent music video containing violent lyrics, aggressive behavior, and degrading behaviors toward women made participants feel and react more violently to questions about fictitious scenarios (Tropeano, 2006). The conclusion was that watching violent music videos negatively affected behavior (Tropeano, 2006).

Johnson, Jackson, and Gatto (1995) conducted a study conducted to assess the effects of rap music on the attitudes and perceptions of African American males. In the study, three groups were formed; one group watched music videos with violent themes, one group watched music videos with nonviolent themes, and a control group saw no

music videos (Johnson et al., 1995). Results showed a greater acceptance of violence among the violent-video watchers, compared to the other two groups, and a higher probability that they would engage in violence, compared to only the control group (Johnson et al., 1995). The researchers found that exposure to violence affected attitudes and perceptions among African American males (Johnson et al., 1995).

When studying lyrics specifically (not just their effects), Herd (2009) found a changing landscape of violent themes in music from the 1970s through the 1990s. In the earlier rap songs, Herd found violence was viewed negatively or with ambivalence. Over time, violence became more prevalent in the lyrics (Herd, 2009). Herd postulated a relationship between more prevalent violence in lyrics with an increase of "profiteering" among major recording labels—in fact, violence and graphic sexuality seemed to be key factors in selling the music. Herd also proposed that the increase of violence in the music could merely be a reflection of increasing violence, especially among African American males. Acts of violence mentioned in the music, such as harming other characters, being successful criminals, brandishing weapons, or outwitting the police, showed authenticity of not only rapping about being a gangster but also actually living "the lifestyle" (Herd, 2009). The continuation of violent-themed rap music has been exacerbated by successful sales of albums, becoming an epidemic of violent proportions (LaGrone, 2000).

Drugs/alcohol. Although violence and misogyny are far more researched in rap music than are drugs and alcohol, drugs and alcohol are no less prevalent. Roberts et al. (1999) described a U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy examination of 1,000 of the most popular songs of youth from 1996 and 1997. Results showed that drugs were mentioned in 63% of the rap songs versus 10% of the songs in any other category. Herd

(2008) conducted a similar study of lyrics from 1979 to 1997 and found drugs were mentioned in only 4% to 11% of the songs. By the 1990s, the percentage of drug references jumped to 69% (Yang, 2008). When looking at the particular drugs referenced, Herd found that marijuana was most dominant (66%), above cocaine (32%) and cigars, or blunts (22%).

Media and Entertainment Influence

In 2001, the Recording Industry Association of America reported that 75% of rap music consumers were White (Farley, 2001). Source magazine writers reported that White suburban kids were the rap industry's customer base (Morales, as d in Armstrong, 2002). The Whiteness of the consumer base may partly explain the shift in content. Certainly, the implications of a largely White consumer base are interesting. As rap's content has shifted from a political message about inequality, gansta rap has now become an aggressive and degrading tool that minimizes both Black men for their violence and hyper-masculinity and Black women for their sexual availability (Lena, 2006).

Entman (1990) conducted two empirical studies on Blacks and crime in the media, which encompassed 55 days of observing local television news in Chicago. Entman (yyyy) found that many news stories featured Blacks in a negative light. Entman discovered that Blacks were often portrayed as threatening and were frequently depicted without using names, which served to deny personal identity (Entman, 1990, 1992). In defining this practice as a component of "modern racism," Entman (1992) asserted that prejudice is fed by a tendency to homogenize—to assume there are no significant differences among individual members of the outgroup. When Blacks are not given a name in a picture, this practice indicates the visual representation can encompass a larger,

undifferentiated group, in this case, the stereotype of a dangerous Black male (Entman, 1992, p. 350).

Chiricos and Eschholz (2002) reviewed eight studies assessing the representation of Blacks in local television news coverage and found that, for the most part, Blacks and Whites were depicted as criminals at nearly similar rates. Their analysis of Orlando television news showed that although African Americans were not overrepresented among alleged criminals on local crime news, Blacks who appeared on television in any role were more than twice as likely to appear as criminal suspects than were Whites. That is, when Blacks and Whites were shown in local television news stories, Blacks were much more likely than their White counterparts to be portrayed as criminals rather than as police officers, role models, news commentators, or other positive figures (Chiricos & Eschholz, 2002). These researchers termed this the "criminal typification of race" (p. x). In addition, Chiricos and Eschholz found that the criminal typification of Blacks in television newscasts occurred 2.4 times more often than the criminal typification of Whites. A qualitative analysis of the Orlando newscasts indicated that Blacks were often represented in more threatening contexts than were Whites ( ). Specifically, Blacks were more often shown in mug shots or as having victimized a stranger or someone of a different race (Chiricos & Eschholz, 2002).

Tucker (2007) argued that representations in popular culture of criminal African American men have helped perpetuate the image. The portrayal of crime by conservative politicians during heated campaigns was used as a metaphor for race: Politicians have recast fears about race as fears about crime (Howard, 2014, p.34). For instance, Republican opponents of Dukakis used the case of Willie Horton to attack the

Democrat's stand on law enforcement to show that people would be safer if led by Republicans (Tucker, 2007). Such politicians used Horton as a collective symbol of African American male criminality (Howard, 2014, p 35).

The criminal Black man has often appeared in the context of athletics and sports. Raney and Bryant (2006) d King and Springwood, who examined the connection between race, crime, and sports. King and Springwood (2001) studied the ways in which "criminality marks the African American athlete" (p. x). Coverage and reception of accusations of crimes by sportspeople differed depending on the race of the individual (King & Springwood, 2001).

Hoberman (1997) blamed entertainment and advertising industries for propagating the negative stereotypes, namely, for "the merger of the athlete, the gangster rapper, and the criminal into a single Black male persona ... into the predominant image of Black masculinity in the United States and around the world," which has harmed racial integration (Hoberman, 2007, p. x).

Commercialism of Hip Hop

Dyson (1996), Rose (1994, 2008), Boyd (2003), Kitwana (2002, 2005), and George (1998, 2005) critiqued the role of the culture industry in distorting hip hop music into a one-dimensional form, commoditized and sold as violent, misogynistic, materialistic, and destructive. The culture industry has limited the representation of hip hop to narrow, negative associations of Blackness, and by

> letting commercialized hip hop become a nearly constant caricature of gangstas, pimps, and hoes, we've come to equate Black poverty with Black street life. This

> denies and silences a wide range of Black urban ghetto experiences and points of view, which venerates predatory street culture. (Rose, 2008, p. 139)

Frankfurt School authors such as Adorno and Horkheimer (1947) and Marcuse (1964) extensively analyzed the media's ability to influence the thoughts, perceptions, and beliefs of consumers. Adorno and Horkheimer named the combination of radio, print, television, and advertising the "culture industry" (p. x). The authors analyzed the culture industry's power to create false consciousness and reinforce dominant ideologies, which lead to reproduction of ideology instead of expansion of the mind. Further, Marcuse (1964) emphasized the way the culture industry eliminated the multiple dimensions of reason, identity, and culture. Marcuse argued that the one-way mediation of information (mainly through the new medium of television, but also through radio, newspapers, cinema, and advertising) disrupted individuals' ability to discern true needs from false needs. Marcuse also argued that the culture industry's influence over all of culture reproduced dominant cultural ideologies in individuals and limited the expansion of the mind and perspectives, thus rendering the individual and culture one-dimensional.

Agger (2004) noted that individuals in modern culture are saturated with images and messages. "Selves' psyches are engaged by the culture industries, which induce people to spend hours watching television and Web surfing, consuming advertising images that form identity" (Agger, 2004, p.107).

Kellner (1995) concluded that the saturation of these images "produces representations that attempt to induce consent to certain political positions, getting members of the society to see specific ideologies as 'the way things are'" (p. 59). Ideologies of gender promote sexist representations of women, and ideologies of race use

racist representations of people of color and various minority groups. Ideologies make inequalities and subordination appear natural and just and thus induce consent to domination ((Dines & Humez, 201, p. 9). Contemporary societies are structured by opposing groups who have different political ideologies (e.g., liberal, conservative, radical); cultural studies specify what, if any, ideologies are operative in a given cultural artifact (Kellner, 1995).

Gitlin (2007) studied how media overwhelms people's thinking, which reinforces the effect of the culture industry's influence. American culture has been saturated by images to the point that people tend to be incapable of making conscious choices and decisions. The main effect of media saturation is that people have no choice but to live in societies in which people waste away countless hours watching television, listening to recorded music, playing video games, connecting to the Internet, and soon unto the next wave of technologies (Gitlin 2007).

Hart (2008) studied the culture industry, hip hop music, and the White perspective and described the rap artist's decision to either pursue art or obtain success in the rap industry. Caught within the web of directorial influence, audience assumptions, and the desire to sell records, the mass-mediated version of hip hop music represents a small percentage of Black America with images of gang activity, drug dealing, pimping, misogyny, hyper-sexuality, and materialism (Hart, 2008). The culture industry's leaders have assumed that this is the image that the White audience will buy; however, the White audience filters its perceptions of hip hop music through historically negative representations of Black authenticity. Thus, many rappers are forced to succumb to the pressures of the culture industry's cycle of assumptions. In addition, by continuing to

produce and perpetuate these images, many popular rap artists solidify negative perceptions of Whites, reinforcing the record company's desire to continue to reproduce these images (Hart, 2008). Rose (2008) emphasized that the culture industry's one-dimensional representation of hip hop music perpetuates the history of negative racial attitudes

> by reflecting images of Black people as colorful and violent criminals, drug dealers, and sex fiends… it crowds out other notions of what it means to be Black and reinforces the most powerful racist and sexist images of Black people. (p. 139)

Charles and Bobo (2009) studied the criminal Black male image produced by the media. Limited caricatures of Black poverty have reinforced Whites' negative racial opinions that the Black culture is inherently dysfunctional and responsible for its own inequality (Charles & Bobo, 2009; Huddy & Feldman, 2009, Kitwana, 2002; Rose, 2008; Schuman & Teal, 1997; Sears, Sidanious, & Bobo, 2000). The saturation of these images "produces representations that attempt to induce consent to certain political positions, getting members of the society to see specific ideologies as 'the way things are'" (Kellner, 1995, p. 59). In other words, the saturation of narrow representations of Blacks as gangstas, pimps, and "hoes" through commercial hip hop creates an illusion that what is represented is a seamless extension of the Black reality:

> The more densely and completely its techniques duplicate empirical objects, the more easily it creates the illusion that the world outside is a seamless extension of the one which has been revealed in the cinema. (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1947, p. 99)

Rappers who have lived within this urban environment represented their reality through lyrics and images, and the culture industry capitalized on the media spectacles of gangsta rap and marketed it to White youth, rap's primary audience (Kitwana 2002). Defending the hip hop artists, scholars such as Kitwana (2002), Rose (2008), and George (yyyy) have noted the exploitation of rappers by the music labels.

Some critics have accused individual rappers of perpetuating negative behavior such as drug dealing, gang banging, violence, and misogyny through their glorification of those behaviors. Those who argue against the record labels and culture industry have claimed that rappers' lyrics, videos, and images are shaped by industry executives according to who the executives perceive to be the audience, as Adorno and Horkheimer (1947) predicted:

> Sharp distinctions like those between A and B film, or between short stories published in magazines in different price segments, do not so much reflect real differences as assist in the classification, organization, and identification of consumers … Everyone is supposed to act spontaneously according to a "level" determined by indices and to select the category of mass production manufactured for their type. (p. 97)

Similarly, Rose (2008) observed, "Together, vast consolidation as well as marketing and sales strategies have compounded the narrowing of what we see and hear, and are then used to prove that hip hop's stories are being entirely self-generated from the Black community" (p. 143).

Kitwana (2005) and Sullivan (2003) summarized the idea that in order for artists to succeed in the mainstream music industry, they must adapt to the demands of the

record labels, the representations of culture industry, and the historically negative racial expectations of Whites. Record label executives began to define the primary hip hop audience as White suburban wealthy teenagers who since 1991 have purchased between 60% to 80% (a debated statistic) of all hip hop music (Kitwana, 2005, p. 82; Sullivan 2003). The record label executives have also determined that this White audience was primarily interested in hip hop music produced in its one-dimensional negative formats of gangsta, misogyny, materialism, and violence (Rose, 2008). These one-dimensional representations of hip hop music began to be performed as if they were self-generated from within the Black community (Rose, 2008) and performed as authentic representations of the Black culture (Neal, 1997; Rose, 2008).

Whites are not the only audience to accept the one-dimensional representations of hip hop music as authentic representations of Black culture (Ibrahim, 1999; Ogbar, 1999). The acceptance of the culture industry's negative representations of hip hop music as an authentic Blackness allows Whites to hold to historical beliefs of Blacks as biologically inferior (Schuman et al., 1997; Sears et al., 2000), culturally inferior (Sears et al., 2000), and responsible for their own inequalities (Charles & Bobo, 2009).

The acceptance and reinforcement of these ideologies allows Whites to ignore systematic inequalities in American society and the multiple dimensions of the Black community. Denial of these forces has led to a new racism (Huddy & Feldman, 2009) or a symbolic racism coded under the ideas that

> Blacks are no longer especially handicapped by racial discrimination; they still do not conform to traditional American values, particularly the work ethic, as well as obedience to authority, and impulse control; they continue to make illegitimate

> demands for special treatment; and they continue to receive undeserved special treatment from government and special elites. (Sears et al., 2000, p. 77)

Thus, the culture industry's one-dimensional representation of hip hop music perpetuates the history of negative racial attitudes

> by reflecting images of Black people as colorful and violent criminals, drug dealers, and sex fiends… it crowds out other notions of what it means to be Black and reinforces the most powerful racist and sexist images of Black people. (Rose, 2008, p. 139)

Criminalizing the Black Male

Eberhardt, Goff, Purdue, and Dives (2004) attempted to determine whether a link existed between stereotypes about Black criminality and police response. Eberhardt et al. found that when police officers were primed to think about crime by words such as "violent, crime, stop, investigate, arrest," they more quickly focused on Black male faces than on comparable White male faces (Eberhardt et al., 2004). Police officers viewed images of Black and White male faces and answered the question, "Who looks criminal?" (Eberhardt et al., 2004). Eberhardt et al. predicted that police officers would label more Black faces than White faces as criminal, and further, that Black faces rated high in stereotypicality would be even more likely to be perceived as criminal than would Black faces rated low in stereotypicality.

Blair, Judd, Sadler, and Jenkins (2002), Livingston (2001), Maddox and Gray (2001), and Willams and Eberhart have documented that people are attentive to physical trait variations among Black Americans. Eberhardt et al. (2004) argued that police officers imbue this physical variation with criminal meaning—that is, the "more Black"

an individual appears, the more criminal that individual is seen to be. Eberhardt et al. concluded that when officers were given no information other than a face, and when they were explicitly directed to make judgments of criminality, race played a significant role in how those judgments were made. The priming also led police officers to remember the faces as having more stereotypically African American features than they actually did; officers were "more likely to falsely identify a face that was more stereotypically Black" (Eberhardt et al., 2004, p. x).

Kang et al. (2012) studied implicit bias in the courtroom. Based on previous research, Black men and boys appeared to fare worse with prosecutors, although few new studies currently exist (Kang et al, 2012). Researchers from the 1980s and 1990s found that some city prosecutors were more likely to prosecute Black defendants than to prosecute White defendants, and the authors of a 2000 report found that prosecutors were more likely to offer White defendants generous plea bargains (Kang et al., 2012). Further, race matters in capital sentencing. Not only were murderers of White victims more likely to receive capital sentences, compared to murderers of Black victims, but Black murderers of White victims were more likely to be sentenced to death if they appeared more stereotypically Black (Eberhardt, 2006).

The idea that racial stereotypes drive criticism of rap music has empirical support. Rap music may elicit images of criminality and aggression among fans simply because of its racial connotation. Because rap is seen as a predominantly Black form of music, judgments of rap music and of fans of rap music may be influenced by preexisting attitudes and cultural stereotypes, which include traits such as anger, hostility, aggressive behavior, and criminal behavior (Clarke & Pearson, 1982; Gordon, 1986; Jackson,

Lewandowski, Ingram, & Hodge, 1997). In addition, the media play a part in perpetrating these stereotypes. Blacks tend to be portrayed in the media in ways that foster stereotypical images of crime, aggression, and other negative characteristics (Baptiste, 1986; Greenberg & Brand, 1994). Media, including the news media, disproportionately portray young Black men as violent and dangerous criminals (Entman, 1992; Oliver, 1994).

Summary

Hip hop culture has a rich history in Afro-diasporic art forms, with deep roots in activist traditions and social movements (Hall, 2011). However, the art form has become a culture associated with violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol. Essentially, Black males who do not inhabit or endorse the content of the culture are subject to its perception of social deviant and criminal behavior based solely on race and gender. The review of the literature in this chapter was based on the assumption that rap's content, audience, and actors matter for both the observer and the researcher. People's worldviews, shaped by experiences, are also guided by perceptions received through daily media. In fact, people are ignorant of the power of the most dominant forms of media, including radio, and therefore fail to understand that many subconscious emotions and feelings toward Black males are profitable selections and slices of deviant commercials served in the form of a so-called self-loathing art form. This includes institutional and cultural racism, classism, sexism, and the idea that hip hop both perpetuates and interrogates these "isms" (Hall, 2011). Hip hop does not exist in a vacuum. The music genre was started by and for young people of color in urban areas but is now controlled by wealthy corporations and White politicians (Hall, 2008, p.12). It is essential that consumers understand the reality that hip

hop is a culture complete with agreed-upon elements as well as shared language, dress, style, history, values, and unifying capabilities (Hall, 2008). Along with that, consumers should also understand that based on the contents of the culture, a person should not be automatically perceived as a threat and be treated as a threat by the public or at an accelerated rate by law enforcement.

In this chapter, the researcher examined crime in the Black community and its prevalence throughout young Black males' upbringing. The researcher provided police contact and conviction rates of Black males, compared to rates for other races. The researcher discussed hip hop music and the historical process by which it has moved from being an art form and subculture to a critical cultural movement that has produced society's most feared deviant, the Black man.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Billboard provided the data for this study, consisting of the top 10 songs from four music genres for the year of 2014. The Billboard lists were compiled based on radio airplay and streaming activity data for each respective genre. The data analyzed for this study were collected from the lyrics of the songs in each genre.

A mixed-method qualitative correlational design was chosen as the most effective method for the research study for its nonobtrusive approach to the inquiry and ability to identify significant relationships between variables (Creswell, 2009; Finlay, 1999). Qualitative methods use largely narrative responses to generate thorough and detailed information, appropriate for analyzing song lyrics. The quantitative statistical correlational methodology provided data for comparisons between variables ( ).

Qualitative research is any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification ( ). Qualitative data can refer to research about people's lives, lived experiences, behaviors, emotions, and feelings as well as about organizational functioning, social movements, and cultural phenomena (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Qualitative research is used when the methods are complementary to the preferences and personal experiences of the researcher, congruent with the nature of the research problem, and employed to explore areas about which little is known (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Qualitative research is conducted to confirm previous research on a topic, provide more in-depth detail about something that is already known, gain a new perspective or a new way of viewing something, and expand the scope of an

existing study. Based on this collection of reasons, qualitative methods were appropriate for this study (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Research Design

This study is a multiple case study using a sequential mixed methods approach to analyze secondary data. The cases are the songs. The first sequence was coding the songs qualitatively. Then you correlated the data you generate. The researcher aimed to derive a general, abstract theory of process, action, or interaction grounded in the views of participants in a study (Creswell, 2009, pp. 13, 229). This process involved using multiple stages of data collection and the refinement and interrelationships of categories of information (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998). Glaser and Strauss (1967) described the grounded theory:

> We believe that the discovery of theory from data—which we call grounded theory—is a major task confronting sociology today, for, as we shall try to show, such a theory fits empirical situations, and is understandable to sociologists and layman alike. Most important, it works provides us with relevant predictions, explanations, interpretations, and applications. (p. 1)

Grounded theory is the discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 2). Building theory in sociology is a strategy for handling data in research while providing modes of conceptualization for describing and explaining (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 2). The theory should provide clear enough categories and hypotheses so that crucial ones can be verified in present and future research and they must be clear enough to be readily operationalized in quantitative studies when appropriate (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 3). The theory must

also be readily understandable to sociologists of any viewpoint to students and policymakers. Theory based on data can usually not be completely refuted by more data or replaced by another theory ( ). Because the theory is intimately linked to data, it is likely to last despite its inevitable modification and reformulation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 4).

Participants

For this research, Billboard data provided the top 10 songs of four genres for the year 2014. Billboard is an entertainment media brand owned by The Hollywood Reporter–Billboard Media Group (billboard.com, 2016). Billboard publishes news, video, opinion, and reviews and covers events and style (billboard.com, 2016). Billboard is known for publishing music charts, including the Billboard Hot 100 and Billboard 200, which track the most popular songs and albums in different genres (billboard.com, 2016). Billboard also hosts events, owns a publishing firm, and operates several TV shows (billboard.com, 2016).

Billboard was founded in 1894 by William Donaldson and James Hennegan as a trade publication for bill posters (billboard.com, 2016). After Donaldson died in 1925, Billboard was passed down to his children and their children, until it was sold to private investors in 1985. The magazine continued to change hands, moving to Affiliated Publications (1987), VNU/Nielsen (1994), and its current owner, Prometheus Global Media (2009). As of 2015, Billboard has shifted to a consumer focus ( ).

The selected Billboard data sample was purposefully balanced between genres. The sample consisted of the top 10 radio airplay songs of the rap, hip hop, rock, and country genres from 2014. These songs consisted of the most popular rap, hip hop, rock,

and country songs, ranked by mainstream radio airplay audience impressions as measured by Nielsen Music (Billboard, 2016).

Hip hop music contains stylized rhythmic music. The term *hip hop* refers to a subculture, and elements of hip hop culture such as DJ-ing are often included with the music (Randel, 2003). Billboard categorizes rap, which is often included in hip hop music, as a separate genre (Billboard, 2016). Also known as *emceeing*, rapping consists of the artist speaking lyrically rather than singing (Kruger & Moy, 2014, p.121). Such speaking is in rhyme and verse and is usually accompanied by an instrumental track or a synthesized beat (Kruger & Moy, 2014, p.121). Country music often consists mainly of stringed instruments such as banjos, guitars, and fiddles, as well as harmonicas (oxforddictionaries.com, 2017). Songs in this genre are typically ballads or dance tunes comprising harmonies and simple forms (Randel, 2003, p. 324). Rock music, originating from "rock and roll," often includes electric guitar, electric bass guitar, and drums (oxforddictionaries.com, 2017). Lyrics are often about romantic love, but rock has also been a vessel for social movements (oxforddictionaries.com, 2017).

Sampling strategy. The study involved (a) categorizing the vulgar lyric content and frequency of use for each sampled genre and (b) examining correlations of vulgar lyric use with the race of the artists. The sample must "fit" the research situation and "work" when put into use. *Fit* means the categories must be readily (not forcibly) applicable to and indicated by the data under study; *work* means the data must be meaningfully relevant to and be able to explain the behavior under study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 3-4).

Sample size. To apply a grounded theory approach, a heterogeneous sample of 20 to as many as 50 is suggested (Creswell, 1998; Morse, 1994). For this study, a sample of 40 songs was selected. As the collected data were reviewed, repeated ideas, concepts, or elements were extracted from the data and tagged with codes. As more data were collected, and as data were re-reviewed, codes were grouped into concepts, and then into categories (Allan, 2003).

Instruments

The Billboard top 10 radio airplay songs of the rap, hip hop, rock, and country genres from 2014 comprised the data in this study. To gather data, the top 10 songs from each of the four genres were reviewed. Because most artists only made their lyrics available inside their purchased compact discs (CDs), lyrics for each song were gathered from three different lyric websites: genius.com, metro lyrics.com, and azlyrics.com. After gathering lyrics from all three sites, the researcher compared and compiled the lyrics of each song and created the most accurate lyrical version of each song from among the three versions of the lyrics. The final version of the lyrics was used for the analysis. Compilation and editing were used to ensure the accuracy of the lyrics prior to analysis.

Data Collection

A sample of lyrics from 40 songs (10 songs for each preselected genre) was selected for the study. The 10 songs were numbered from 1 to 10 based on airplay ranking within the specific genre, accompanied by the name of each song and name of the song's artist. Billboard ranked the songs based on mainstream radio airplay audience impressions as measured by Nielsen Music. Sampled songs are listed by genre in Appendix A.

Data Analysis

Each song's lyrics was transcribed by the researcher. The transcripts were reviewed and data were analyzed to determine specific themes. Lyrics were analyzed for three predetermined themes: violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol. Each of the three themes comprised two subthemes to provide a more detailed analysis and ensure accurate coding.

Lyrics mentioning *violence* were analyzed for the presence of two types of violent themes:

- Description of an action, referencing a violent act (e.g., as stated in artist YG's (2013) song, "My Hitta"*:* "get to trippin', knock the gravy out your biscuit").
- Description of a weapon being used or prepared to be used for violence (e.g., Lil Wayne's (2014) song, "Believe Me": "…I'll fire this nina like it's her first day on the job and the bitch overslept").

Lyrics mentioning *misogyny* were analyzed for two types of misogynistic themes:

- Portrayal of women as objects, sexual or otherwise (e.g., Chase Rice's (2013) "Ready Set Roll": "Get your little fine ass on the step").
- Portrayal of women as stereotypes, by use of derogatory names (e.g., Kid Ink's (2014) "Show me": "I can tell you a freak, go show it").

Lyrics mentioning *drugs and/or alcohol* were analyzed for two drugs/alcohol themes:

- Portrayal of intoxication (e.g., Kid Ink's (2014) song "Show me": "So high, ain't nowhere to land").

- Description of a drug or name of a drug (e.g., Chris Brown's (2014) song "Loyal": "Eyes closed smoking marijuana, rolling up that the Bob Marley I'm a Rasta").

In terms of coding, a line containing one instance of violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol that was repeated throughout the song, such as a line in the chorus that was repeated every time the chorus occurred, counted as one instance in the total of themes of violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol. One line that contained more than one of two themes (e.g., portrayed women as sex objects and described a violent act) counted as one instance for each theme presented in that line (i.e., one instance of Theme 1 and one instance of Theme 2). If a misogynistic phrase or word such as "bitch" was used multiple times in separate parts of the song rather than in one line that was repeated, then each line containing a unique thought with the phrase or word counted as a new instance of the misogyny theme.

The results of the research are presented quantitatively. A spreadsheet was used to code the instances of each theme as they occurred in each song's lyrics. Labels were used to indicate the three themes: *VA* was used to denote lyrics describing a violent act. *VW* was used to denote lyrics describing the use of or planned use of a weapon to commit a violent act. *D* was used to denote lyrics describing drug usage, including slang names (e.g., green, White, beans). *A* was used to denote lyrics describing alcohol use, including brand names (e.g., Jack, Ace, Rose). *WO* was used to denote lyrics describing women as objects, sexual or otherwise. Finally, *WS* was used to denote lyrics describing women in a stereotypical and derogatory way. The genres and songs analyzed for this study are shown in Appendix A.

The Role of the Researcher

Qualitative researchers often collect data until they reach a point of data saturation. Data saturation occurs when the researcher no longer hears or sees new information in the data. Unlike quantitative researchers who wait until the end of the study to analyze their data, qualitative researchers usually analyze their data throughout their study. Qualitative researchers tend to use inductive analysis of data, meaning that the critical themes emerge out of the data (Patton, 1990). Qualitative analysis requires some creativity, because the challenge is to place the raw data into logical, meaningful categories; to examine them in a holistic fashion; and to find a way to communicate this interpretation to others (Edwards & Kinner, 2008).

The researcher is considered an instrument of data collection (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). This means that data are mediated through this human instrument, rather than through inventories, questionnaires, or machines ((Denzin & Lincoln, 2003)). Therefore, consumers of the research need to know about the human instrument. Before analyzing the data, as recommended, the researcher described relevant aspects of self, including biases and assumptions, expectations, and experiences to qualify the researcher's ability to conduct the research (Greenbank, 2003).

Qualitative researchers should also explain if their role is *emic*—an insider who is a full participant in the activity, program, or phenomenon—or if their role is more *etic*, seen from an outside view, more of an objective viewer (Greenbank, 2003). Sometimes a researcher starts as an outsider and then becomes a member of the group. In contrast, the reverse can occur—the researcher starts as a member of a group and then becomes a more objective observant (Punch, 1998).

Summary

This qualitative research study was designed to generate substantial qualitative data from which associations regarding lyrics containing vulgar lyrics, the rap genre and race may be drawn. The methodology was selected to provide data specifically about the relationships between the genre, artists; race, and lyrics containing mentions of violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol. The study was intended to produce data useful to researchers who study music media and its effects on consumers as a catalyst of action. In addition, the researcher sought to illuminate the perceptions that music media present to consumers in relation to the race and genre of its artists. The study was designed to produce a unique set of data, the results of which may stimulate further research in this area.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

The focus of this dissertation was to answer two research questions about the relationship between music genres, artists' races, and lyrics containing violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol. This study was influenced by numerous studies regarding entertainment, music, and the stereotyping of Black males as criminals. Researchers have determined that public perception of Black males as criminals has been a central theme in video, audio, and literature entertainment. To date, no researchers have conducted a correlational design examining the relationship between genre, lyrics, and artist's race. Many studies have been conducted in reference to music lyrics and their effects on listeners; however, this was not the focus of this study.

Descriptive and correlation analyses were used to evaluate the lyrics and race in each sampled genre to address the following research questions:

RQ1. Is there a relationship between lyrics played on rap genre stations and other genre stations with respect to lyric content, as measured by frequency of mentions of violence, misogyny, and drug/alcohol use?

RQ2. Is there a relationship between lyrics that contain mentions of violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol and race of the artist?

Description of the Data

The data were collected from Billboard's 2014 year end top 100 radio airplay songs for the rap, hip hop, rock, and country genres. Only the top 10 songs from each genre were collected and used for this study because of song repetition and artists

appearing in more than one genre after the list progressed past the top 10 songs. Billboard's most popular songs from each genre were collected and ranked by radio airplay audience impressions as measured by Nielsen Music (Billboard, 2016).

Descriptive analysis. The duration of each song in each genre was collected from the individual artist's album playlist and converted from minutes and seconds into seconds for simplicity. Songs that appeared in more than one genre within the top 10 were included in the study. The research questions were designed to examine the relationship between vulgar lyrics, genre, and artist's race. Using descriptive statistics, six lyrical occurrences were analyzed: (a) violent actions; (b) violent weapons; (c) drugs; (d) alcohol; (e) women as objects; and (f) women as stereotypes. The occurrence of vulgar lyrics was compared by genre and race.

Genres. Means were calculated for the sampled Rap, Hip Hop, Rock and Country radio genres. Table 1 shows the means for the radio music genres.

Table 1

Descriptive Data for Radio Music Genres

Variable	*M*	*SD*	*N*	*Min*	*Max*
Rap	13.67	4.97	6.00	9.00	22.00
Hip hop	7.67	1.86	6.00	5.00	10.00
Rock	0.83	0.98	6.00	0.00	2.00
Country	1.83	2.14	6.00	0.00	5.00

The observations of vulgar lyrics in the hip hop genre ranged from 5.00 to 10.00, with an average of 7.67 (*SD* = 1.86). The observations of vulgar lyrics in the rap genre

ranged from 9.00 to 22.00, with an average of 13.67 (*SD* = 4.97). The observations of vulgar lyrics in the rock genre ranged from 0.00 to 2.00, with an average of 0.83 (*SD* = 0.98). The observations of vulgar lyrics in the country genre ranged from 0.00 to 5.00, with an average of 1.83 (*SD* = 2.14).

Vulgar Lyrics

Violent acts. Of the 32 occurrences of lyrics containing or describing a violent act, the rap genre accounted for 68.75%. In contrast, the rock and country genres did not have any occurrences of violent acts. As shown in Table 2, the observations for lyrics containing violent acts in all genres ranged from 0.00 to 22.00, with an average of 8.00 (*SD* = 10.46).

Table 2

Descriptive Data for Violent Acts

Variable	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*Min*	*Max*
Violent acts	8.00	10.46	4.00	0.00	22.00

Violent weapons. Of the 22 occurrences of lyrics containing mentions or descriptions of known violent weapons, the rap genre accounted for 60.90%. In contrast, the rock and country genres did not have occurrences. As shown in Table 3, the observations for lyrics containing known violent weapons in all genres ranged from 0.00 to 13.00, with an average of 5.25 (*SD* = 6.40).

Table 3

Descriptive Data for Violent Weapons

Variable	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*Min*	*Max*
Violent weapons	5.25	6.40	4.00	0.00	13.00

Drugs. Of 26 occurrences of lyrics containing mentions of drugs or drug use, the rap genre accounted for 65.38%. In contrast, the rock and country genres did not have any occurrences. As shown in Table 4, the observations for lyrics containing drugs or drug use in all genres ranged from 0.00 to 17.00, with an average of 6.50 (*SD* = 8.19).

Table 4

Descriptive Data for Drugs

Variable	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*Min*	*Max*
Drugs	6.50	8.19	4.00	0.00	17.00

Alcohol. Of 22 occurrences of lyrics containing mentions of alcohol or alcohol use, the rap genre accounted for 45.45%. Hip hop and country both accounted for 22.72%, and the rock genres accounted for 9.09%. As shown in Table 5, the observations for lyrics containing alcohol or alcohol use in all genres ranged from 2.00 to 10.00, with an average of 5.50 (*SD* = 3.32).

Table 5

Descriptive Data for Alcohol

Variable	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*Min*	*Max*
Alcohol	5.50	3.32	4.00	2.00	10.00

Women stereotypes. Of 19 occurrences of lyrics containing mentions of women stereotypes, the rap genre accounted for 47.36%. Hip hop accounted for 31.57%, and the country and rock genres accounted for 15.78% and 5.28%, respectively. As shown in Table 6, the observations for lyrics containing women stereotypes in all genres ranged from 1.00 to 9.00, with an average of 4.75 (*SD* = 3.50).

Table 6

Descriptive Data for Women Stereotypes

Variable	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*Min*	*Max*
Women stereotypes	4.75	3.50	4.00	1.00	9.00

Women as objects. Of 24 occurrences of lyrics containing mentions of women as objects, the rap genre accounted for 45.83%. Hip hop accounted for 33.33%, and the country and rock genres accounted for 12.50% and 8.33%, respectively. As shown in Table 7, the observations for lyrics containing women as objects in all genres ranged from 2.00 to 11.00, with an average of 6.00 (*SD* = 4.24).

Table 7

Descriptive Data for Women as Objects

Variable	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*Min*	*Max*
Women as objects	6.00	4.24	4.00	2.00	11.00

Song samples. As shown in Table 8, the 40 songs sampled for this study had a song duration ranging from 179.00 seconds to 337.00 seconds, with an average of 237.50 seconds (*SD* = 45.89). The vulgar lyrics analyzed in each of the 40 songs ranged from 0.00 occurrences to 20.00 occurrences, with an average of 4.05 occurrences (*SD* = 4.60).

Table 8

Descriptive Data for Song Duration and Vulgar Lyrics

Variable	*M*	*SD*	*N*	*Min*	*Max*
Song duration	237.50	45.89	40.00	179.00	337.00
Vulgar lyrics	4.05	4.60	40.00	0.00	20.00

Race of artists. Of the 40 sampled songs, artists who identified as "Black" accounted for 45.00% of the total sample. Black artists accounted for 100.00% of the hip hop genre, 90.00% of the rap genre, and 0.00% of both the rock and country genres. Artists who identified as "White" accounted for 55.00% of the total sample. White artists accounted for 100.00% of both the rock and country genres, 20.00% of the rap genre, and 0.00% of the hip hop genre. As shown in Table 9, the most frequently observed racial category was White (*n* = 22, 55%).

Table 9

Frequency Table for Race of Artists

Variables	*n*	*%*
Black artists	18	45
White artists	22	55

As shown in Table 10, the observations for the occurrences of vulgar lyrics by Black artists ranged from 0.00 to 115.00, with an average of 12.11 (*SD* = 25.14). The observations for occurrences of vulgar lyrics by White artists ranged from 0.00 to 37.00, with an average of 3.00 (*SD* = 7.66).

Table 10

Descriptive Data for Vulgar Lyrics by Race

Variables Vulgar Lyrics by Race	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*Min*	*Max*
(B) Vulgar lyrics	12.11	25.14	19.00	0.00	115.00
(W) Vulgar lyrics	3.00	7.66	23.00	0.00	37.00

Pearson Correlation Coefficient

A Pearson correlation analysis was conducted between the occurrence of vulgar lyrics, Black artists, and White artists. Cohen's standard was used to evaluate the strength of the relationships. There was a significant positive correlation between the occurrence of vulgar lyrics and Black artists ($r = .68$, $p < .001$). The correlation coefficient between the occurrence of vulgar lyrics and Black artists was .68, indicating a large relationship.

This finding indicates that as the occurrence of music with vulgar lyrics increased, the probability of those songs belonging to Black artists tended to increase. In addition, a significant negative correlation was found between the occurrence of vulgar lyrics and White artists ($r = -.68$, $p < .001$). The correlation coefficient between the occurrence of vulgar lyrics and White artists was –.68, indicating a large relationship. This finding indicates that as the occurrence of music with vulgar lyrics increased, the probability of those songs belonging to White artists tended to decrease. A significant negative correlation was found between Black artists and White artists ($r = -1.00$, $p < .001$). The correlation coefficient between Black and White artists was –1.00, indicating a perfect relationship. This indicates that as Black increased, White tended to decrease. Table 2 presents the results of the correlations. Figure 1 shows a scatterplot matrix of the correlations.

Table 11

Pearson Correlation Matrix among Vulgar Lyrics, Black, and White Artists

Variables	1	2	3
1. Vulgar lyrics	–		
2. Black artists	.68	–	
3. White artists	–.68	–1.00	–

Note. The critical values are 0.31, 0.40, and 0.50 for significance levels .05, .01, and .001, respectively.

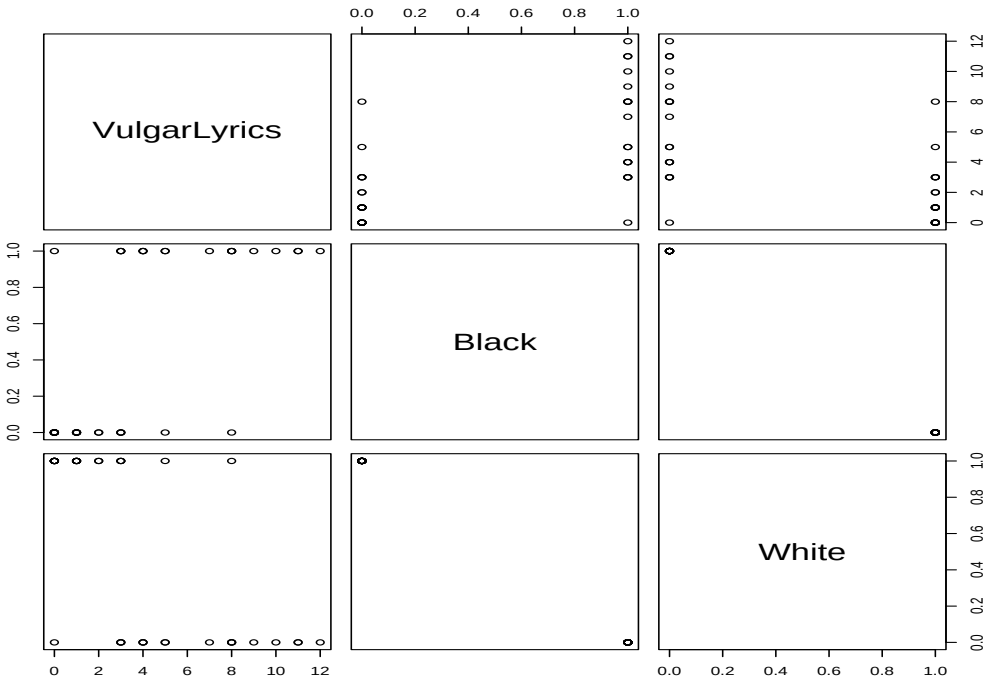

Figure 1. Scatterplot matrix among vulgar lyrics, Black, and White.

Spearman Correlation Analysis

A Spearman correlation analysis was conducted among vulgar lyrics, Black artists, and White artists. Cohen's standard was used to evaluate the strength of the relationships. Coefficients between .10 and .29 represent a small association, coefficients between .30 and .49 represent a moderate association, and coefficients above .50 indicate a large association. A Spearman correlation requires that the relationship between each pair of variables is monotonic (does not change direction). This assumption is violated if the points on the scatterplot between any pair of variables appear to shift from a positive to negative or negative to positive relationship.

There was a significant positive correlation between vulgar lyrics and Black artists ($r = .70$, $p < .001$). The correlation coefficient between vulgar lyrics and Black

artists was .70, indicating a large relationship. This indicates that as vulgar lyrics increased, Black artists tended to increase. A significant negative correlation was found between vulgar lyrics and White artists ($r = –.70$, $p < .001$). The correlation coefficient between vulgar lyrics and White artists was –.70, indicating a large relationship. This indicates that as vulgar lyrics increased, White artists tended to decrease. There was a significant negative correlation between Black artists and White artists ($r = –1.00$, $p < .001$). The correlation coefficient between Black artists and White artists was –1.00, indicating a perfect correlation. This indicates that as Black artists increased, White artists tended to decrease. Table 12 shows the results of the Spearman correlations.

Table 12

Spearman Correlation Matrix among Vulgar Lyrics, Black Artists, and White Artists

Variable	1	2	3
1. Vulgar lyrics	–		
2. Black artists	.70	–	
3. White artists	–.70	–1.00	–

Note. The critical values are 0.31, 0.40, and 0.50 for significance levels .05, .01, and .001, respectively.

Summary

This chapter presented the results of the correlation and relationship between the music played on mainstream radio, vulgar lyrics, and race. The results of descriptive analyses on the genres of music, the lyrical content of the sampled genre's songs, and the race of the artists focused on each sampled genre and its relationship to observed vulgar lyrics. The results of the Spearman correlation analysis were presented. There was a

statistically significant relationship between the occurrence of vulgar lyrics and race, race and genre, and genre and vulgar lyrics. The conclusion of this analysis is to reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis. The results of both the Pearson correlation analysis, Spearman correlation analysis, and the descriptive analysis indicated a positive correlation between vulgar lyrics and the rap genre and between vulgar lyrics and the race of artists. The findings are discussed in depth in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this qualitative correlation study was to examine the relationship between music genres, artists' races, and lyrics. The research questions in the study specifically addressed factors that may contribute to the furtherance of the criminal Black male stereotype. The study limitations, delimitations, conclusions, implications, and recommendations resulting from the findings are presented and discussed. The chapter closes with a summary.

Limitations

Several limitations affected this study. First, the data were derived from the lyrics of the songs in a purposefully selected sample of songs. The study's reliance on interpretation of song lyrics may have been subject to error based on the researcher's definitions and perceived context of the lyrics.

Second, using a mixed method methodology research is a methodology for conducting research that involves collecting, analyzing, and integrating (or mixing) quantitative and qualitative research (and data) in a single study or a longitudinal program of inquiry. The purpose of this form of research is that both qualitative and quantitative research, in combination, provide a better understanding of a research problem or issue than either research approach alone. The lengthy process of coding required identifying current slang words, reviewing their etymologies, and noting their current usage in music. The researcher followed the methodological guidance of Charmaz

(2006) and Strauss and Corbin (1998) to gather and analyze the data and explain the analysis of the research findings.

Because of the common practice of paying money to people in exchange for playing a particular piece of music—known as *payola* in the radio industry (Fairchild, 2012)—the songs sampled for this study could have gained popularity because they had been paid for and promoted by certain record labels, producers, or companies. This practice would remove sole responsibility of song selection from the radio broadcaster. For example, in 2013, Clear Channel Media and Warner Music Group reached a deal that included Warner artists being paid for terrestrial radio play for the first time (Sisario, 2013). In exchange, Clear Channel received preferential rates for streaming songs through its iHeartRadio service and other online platforms (Sisario, 2013). Under the deal, Warner artists received a bigger share of promotional time and air play across Clear Channel Media broadcast stations and digital radio outlets (Sisario, 2013). With this example in mind, there are financial implications associated with certain sampled songs' lyrics; the researcher could not address this issue because of time constraints and substantial data. This limitation was overcome by using a single sampling source not associated with any specific radio broadcaster or record label.

Third, the researcher was unable to control three other limitations: (a) the period during which the sampled songs were released, (b) when a specific artist had last released a new song, and (c) the popularity of each artist at the time of the song release. The sample was collected from one year using a single source. The results may have varied if an additional sample had been taken from a previous year and then compared using the same method.

Fourth, the sample selected was based on radio airplay only. Selecting a data sample drawn from a different source, such as record sales or surveys, may have produced a different sample of artist and songs. A different sample would have likely produced different results. Although a survey sample may have produced more organic results, the sample would have been isolated to only the region the researcher was able to access during the study. The researcher overcame this limitation by choosing a single, national source, thus preventing a regionally biased sample of songs.

Fifth, artist restrictions and radio boycotts were not taken into consideration during this study. Radio boycotts can affect which artists are allowed into rotation for a span of time, resulting in different lyrical and themed content. For example, rapper Rick Ross was the subject of a radio boycott because of his verse on rapper Rocko's song "U.O.E.N.O.," in which he stated:

> Put molly in her champagne, she didn't even know it,
>
> Took her home and enjoyed that, she didn't even know it.

A petition containing 72,000 signatures was presented to Reebok, demanding they drop Ross as a spokesperson because of the lyrics, which appeared to condone date rape. Ross apologized for the lyrics, claiming they were not about rape; however, he was dropped by Reebok on April 11, 2013. A Ross concert organized by the student association of Carleton University was cancelled after protests that his lyrics promoted "rape culture". Rocko later dropped the Rick Ross verse in order to get radio play.

Sixth, the lyrics of the songs in the sample did not specify a particular race because race may have related to the Black male as criminal stereotype. For example, in his song "Loyal," Chris Brown (2014) sang:

Just got rich

Took a broke nigga's bitch

I can make a broke bitch rich

But I don't fuck with broke bitches

Got a White girl with some fake titties

I took her to The Bay with me

Eyes closed smoking marijuana

Rolling up that Bob Marley, I'm a rasta.

Misogyny and drug use occurrence are prevalent in the lyrics, but do not clarify or mention a relationship to Black males that can be linked to variables besides the artist's race. There was a possibility that a consumer who was unfamiliar with the artist's racial identity would not have attributed misogynist behavior and drug use to Black males. However, when a White artist such as Eminem has used lyrics about violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol, he has been seen as an anomaly that does not negatively influence listener perceptions of White males. The researcher addressed this limitation by including the race of the artist in the methodology. In addition, race was the subject of studies presented in Chapter 2 that addressed Black males and their association to the rap and hip hop genres.

Delimitations

The study was delimited in terms of size and characteristics of the sample. As described previously, the sample of lyrics from 40 songs, 10 songs for each preselected genre, was chosen from Billboard, an entertainment media brand known for its music charts, including the Billboard Hot 100 and Billboard 200, which tracks the most popular

songs and albums in different genres. A sample of the top 10 songs from each genre ranked by mainstream radio airplay audience impressions, as measured by Nielsen Music, was purposefully selected to participate in the research.

In order to ensure the validity of the sample, regional radio syndication did not influence the researcher's data collection. Billboard was used instead of local radio playlists. In addition, the composition of the sample delimited the results of the study to a specific year. Including a sample using more songs for each genre or additional genres would most likely have increased the results in all analyzed categories of this study.

The nature of the data would have not allowed an experiment with the producers or consumers of each particular music genre; however, the Pearson correlation coefficient analysis was used to overcome this limitation. The Pearson correlation coefficient is frequently used to investigate a relationship between two quantitative, continuous variables (Fisher, 1915). Because the data were collected through natural, unstructured observation based on radio airplay, many of the artists in each genre were featured on more than one genre's list. To overcome this limitation, the researcher assigned the artist to a genre. For example, if hip hop artist Wale was featured on a song by pop artist Katy Perry, the data from Katy Perry's song and lyrics were collected and categorized within the pop genre.

Thus, it is likely that the sample used in this study would not be the same or yield the same results if collected from subsequent years. However, for this study, the size and scope of the sample was delimited to foster a more thorough examination into the relationship being addressed as it related to the sample specifically being studied. Ke and Creswell and Clark (2010) noted,

> "as a method, it focuses on collecting, analyzing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or series of studies. Its central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches, in combination, provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone (Creswell & Plano, 2011)."

Conclusions

Correlation analysis results are used to answer basic questions about the unit analyzed and to identify significant associations between variables (Creswell, 2009). In this study, the researcher applied a correlation analysis using data gathered from the online version of *Billboard Magazine*, a trade publication. The data were categorized by the top 10 radio airplay songs of the rap, hip hop, rock, and country genres for the year 2014. The occurrences of lyrics that contained violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol were counted for each song in the sampled genres.

RQ1. Is there a relationship between lyrics played on rap genre stations and other genre stations with respect to lyric content, as measured by frequency of mentions of violence, misogyny, and drug/alcohol use?

The results of the study showed a significant relationship between the top 10 songs in the rap genre and the frequency of lyrics that mentioned violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol, compared to music in other genres. The rap genre had 44% more occurrences of vulgar lyrics than did the hip hop genre, 83% more than was found for the country genre, and 96% more than was found for the rock genre. The large disparity in the occurrence of vulgar lyrics in this study is representative of the national radio audience average, based on the method of data collection. In a related study, Ballard,

Bazzini, and Dodson (1999) presented prosocial or antisocial lyrical passages to students under the guise of four musical genres (heavy metal, rap, pop, and country). Participants rated the potential impact of the lyrics on listeners' behavior (Ballard et al., 1999). Lyrics labeled as heavy metal or rap were perceived as less likely to inspire prosocial behavior (Ballard et al., 1999). Similarly, Cundiff (2013) analyzed the lyrical content of popular rap and hip hop songs on Billboard's Hot 100 chart between 2000 and 2010 for demeaning language, rape/sexual assault, sexual conquest, and physical violence. Themes of power over, objectification of, and violence against women were identified as prevalent throughout the content analysis sample (Cundiff, 2013). Survey results indicated a positive correlation between misogynous thinking and rap/hip hop consumption. The correlation between vulgar lyrics and the rap genre also relates to Research Question 2. The significance of the relationship will be discussed in the Implications section. The findings will be discussed collectively in the Implications and the Recommendations for Future Research sections.

RQ2. Is there a relationship between lyrics that contain mentions of violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol and race of artist?

A significant relationship and positive correlation was found between lyrics that contained violent acts, violent weapons, drug use, alcohol use, women as object, women stereotype themes, and the race of the artist, specifically Black artists. Although Black artists made up 45% of the sampled songs, they accounted for 84% of the lyrics that contained violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol themes, five times more than was found for their White counterparts. Researchers at the Pew Research Center (2007), a nonpartisan "fact tank," found that Blacks were far more troubled by the influence that

rap and hip hop had on society than by the portrayal of Blacks in movies and television. By similarly lopsided margins, Blacks and Whites said that these two relatively new music forms were having a bad influence on society mainly because of offensive language, negative stereotyping of women, and glorification of violence (Optimism for Black, 2007). The correlation and relationship of vulgar lyrics with race and vulgar lyrics with the rap genre in this study were significant statistically and socially. The findings will be discussed collectively in the Implications and the Recommendations for Future Research sections.

Implications

The study findings substantiated the claim that the criminal Black male stereotype that exists in other forms of entertainment is also prevalent in radio. The results corroborated findings from the examination of early American literature, literature, and previous studies that the rap and hip hop radio genre promotes Black artists whose lyrics contain violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol.

At the 2013 Black Men Matter II Conference at Morgan State University, Black male professors, students, radio personalities, and journalists came together to discuss media stereotypes of Black males. Pittsburg University School of Social Work Dean Larry Davis warned, “Negative stereotypes are dangerous because they can be internalized. That’s why media that depicts Black males as dumb, violent and lazy can affect their life direction. People’s perception of themselves are shaped by others perceptions of them.” Davis noted that research shows that this affects the way Whites see Blacks, the way Blacks believe Whites see Blacks, and the way Blacks see themselves.

As illustrated in the current findings, disparities continue to exist between rap and hip hop lyrics by Black artists in contrast to lyrics in other mainstream music genres and lyrics by White artists, specifically lyrics containing references to violence, misogyny, and drugs/alcohol. These disparities continue even though the FCC has strict rules concerning indecency and obscenity on the radio (U.S. FCC, 2014).

Rap music has existed, and continues to exist, outside of mainstream mediated representations and represents a small insight into a culture that has many points of view (Hart, 2009). Some rap artists represent the middle-class point of view; others represent lower-class and upper-class mentalities. Some artists rap about the reality of violence in urban neighborhoods, and others use gangster caricatures and narratives to exploit the music to sell records. Rap music is performed by religious rappers and sinister rappers, political rappers and materialistic rappers, academic rappers and ignorant rappers, romantic rappers and sexist rappers (Hart, 2009). Essentially, rap music, when taken in full, represents all aspects of the culture of the artists who produce it.

The culture industry's cycle of assumptions acts upon historically negative racial perceptions and reinforces those perceptions by allowing only a one-dimensional version of rap music to define the genre as a whole and projects the negative characteristics of one-dimensional rap onto the Black community and individual Blacks (Hart, 2009). Recognizing the economic opportunity to use the languages and posturing of this emerging youth culture to make profits and sell products (Neal 1997), leaders of the culture industry intensified the commodification of hip hop music throughout the 1990s. Control of the music, images, and distribution moved from local entrepreneurs to a consolidated network of White-owned multinational businesses (Hart, 2009). The

portrayal of the criminal Black male is one of the most lucrative entertainment media commodities, and in opposition to popular belief, these artists are not sole proprietors of their lyrics, songs, or images. Instead, they are corporate product created from market analysis, demographics, and the current commerce of the consumers of the culture.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study outlined the relationships between vulgar lyrics and race and vulgar lyrics and the rap genre. Future researchers should focus on why radio distributors select rap music to play, rather than playing other less intrusive forms of the rap genre. The impetus for these decisions is likely the financial gain and partnerships that exist between the artists, the record label owners, the radio distributors, and consumer product companies.

Rap artist endorsements have become a popular advertising tool in recent times. Endorsements have become a trend perceived as a winning formula for product marketing and brand building (Shoeb & Khalid, 2014). Several rap artists have formed partnerships and have openly endorsed or become third-party brand ambassadors for companies looking to promote products through advertisements placed into songs. For example, track 3 of the Run-DMC's album *Raising Hell* (1986) was "My Adidas." The brand name was mentioned 22 times in the song (Tully, 2009). At a concert during the *Raising Hell* tour, Run-DMC members interrupted the music and asked the audience to take their shoes off and wave one shoe at the ceiling. Representatives of Adidas were in the auditorium: A contract with the group followed (Parker, 2002). Similarly, in 2006, Absolut Vodka offered an exclusive download of the song "Breathe" by Lenny Kravitz

on its Internet site, in the context of a major promotional operation called “Absolut Kravitz” (Billboard, 2014).

The insertion of brands into rap song lyrics anchors them in the real world of society and consumption. In most cases, the products are high-end, even luxury brands, and alcoholic drinks, cars, and clothing are often emphasized (Lehu, 2007, p.173). In one song, explicitly titled “Got me a bottle” (2003), rappers 50 Cent and Lloyd Banks asked for bottles of Hennessy, Bacardi, Smirnoff, E&J, Absolut, and Tanqueray, and also mentioned Crown Royal, most of which are products of Diageo, the world’s largest producer of spirits (Harlock, 2016). Hip hop artist Jay-Z mentioned Versace and Guess in “Coming of Age” (1997), Cristal, Rolex, Cartier, and Versace in “Imaginary Player” (1997), Motorola, Bacardi, and Nike in “Reservoir Dogs” (1998), and Belvedere, Reebok, Chanel, Prada, and Gucci in “Get Your Mind Right Mami” (2000).

Such placements can contribute to rejuvenating a brand, as was notably the case for Cadillac at the beginning of the 2000s, when the brand mainly targeted an older population. In just a few months, the Escalade SUV model (average purchase price $54,000) proved especially popular with rappers, and the average age of the Cadillac owner fell by 12 years (Lehu, 2007, p. 174). Another case of market and target rejuvenation was the track “Pass the Courvoisier” (2002).

The proactive approach is prudent for many brands, because the rap scene is often associated with violence, sex, alcohol, and drugs (Lehu, 2007, p.175). Brand names are often truncated or adapted to the particular style of rap: “Cris” for the champagne Cristal, “Remi” for the cognac Remy Martin, “Hen,” “Hen Dog,” or “Henny” for Hennessy cognac, “Burburry” for Burberry and “Bently” for Bentley (Lehu, 2007, p. 176). Such

modifications lend themselves to the development of a feeling of appropriation by rap genre artists (Lehu, 2007, p.176). These modifications remove part of the commercial character of the placement and enable it to sound almost natural to the target audience, which might make consumers more open to the implicit recommendation.

In addition, researchers have confirmed that even if comprehension of the song lyrics was poor, the simple schematic process used by listeners usually enables them to orient their behavior in the direction of the lyrics. Further, in relation to all other musical genres, rap lyrics are voluntarily heightened by phrasing, wordplay, hidden meanings, and the rhythm itself (Lehu, 2007, p. 176). In 2003, the research agency New Media Strategies published the results of a study indicating that 60% of respondents considering themselves fans of hip hop were interested in films by their favorite singers and in buying products mentioned in their songs or products for which the singers were advertising spokespersons (Lehu, 2007, p. 177).

Another path of future research involves the partnerships between major corporations, rap artists, lyrical advertisements, and sale of products mentioned in songs by corporations. Clear Channel Media is one example of these partnerships. With 243 million monthly listeners in the United States, Clear Channel Media has the largest reach of any radio outlet in America (iHeartmedia, Inc., 2014). Clear Channel Media CEO Bob Pittman founded MTV and is the CEO of iHeart Radio, a radio network that aggregates audio content from over 800 local Clear Channel radio stations across the United States through online, mobile devices, and video game consoles (iHeartmedia, Inc., 2014). The iHeart Radio's music festival is a 2-day festival held each September that showcases the most established artists of each genre (iHeartmedia, Inc., 2014). This festival is sponsored

by Smirnoff Vodka, which is owned by Diageo PLC, a British multinational alcoholic beverages company headquartered in London, England (Diageo, 2017). Diageo is the world's largest producer of spirits and a major producer of beer and wine (Diageo, 2017). Diageo is also the parent company of Cîroc Vodka (Diageo, 2017). Cîroc Vodka is marketed in the United States by Sean "Puffy" Combs (Diageo, 2017). Combs is a music mogul and the CEO and founder of Bad Boy Worldwide Entertainment Group, which operates as a division of Universal Music Group, but whose catalog and roster remains under the control of Warner Music Group (WMG; 2016). In 2007, Diddy became the full-time brand manager and chief marketing officer of Cîroc, entitling him to a 50% stake (Farrell, 2010).

In 2010, Combs began managing rap artist Rick Ross, the founder of Maybach Music Group, which operates as a division of WMG (WMG, 2016). Since that time, Ross has recorded over 20 songs with Cîroc in the lyrics. The video for Ross's song "Diced Pineapples" displayed Cîroc about 19 times throughout the 4:43 second video (Rick Ross, 2012). Under Combs's direction, Cîroc sales went from 120,000 cases per year in 2007 to 400,000 cases in 2009 and over 2 million cases in 2013, a 600% increase (Farrell, 2010). "The boom was fueled in large part by Diddy's diligent shilling—on billboards, in lyrics, on Twitter and even through a self-proclaimed nickname, Cîroc Obama (Greenburg, 2011, p. 1). In addition, Mosely (as quoted in Greenburg, 2011) stated,

> We saw it really take off in the African American community, and it has started to broaden its appeal. Throughout the entire economic recession, it was one of the few brands that never slowed down … As a community, African Americans are

> leaders in terms of style, fashion and image … They can take brands and make them very big themselves. (Greenburg, 2011, p. 2)

In 2013, Clear Channel Media and Warner Music Group Corp announced a partnership aligning the two companies' interests in driving digital growth, increasing radio listenership, breaking new music and creating new marketing opportunities for established artists (WMG, 2016). The agreement was the first alliance between a major music company and Clear Channel (iHeartmedia Inc., 2014). Through this alliance, WMG shared in the revenue received from all platforms and gained unprecedented opportunities to promote the music of its emerging and established artists across all of Clear Channel's assets (iHeartmedia Inc., 2014).

The most vulgar artists of the rap genre have endorsement deals with major apparel companies such as Reebok, Nike, Puma, and Converse and with liquor brands such as Hennessy, Cîroc, and Luc Belaire. This type of interrelationship between major music groups, hip hop artists, radio, and companies with products that appeal to the hip hop culture—and are consistent with the criminal Black male stereotype—has created a multiple-product profitability and connectivity not present in any other genre.

Summary

Artists are responsible for the type of music they create; however, they cannot produce and distribute their music to a national audience without the assistance of radio. When radio consumers hear the music, research has shown that they associate the content in the music with the artists, the genre of music, and the race of the artist. For example, the rapper Eminem's rise to fame in the rap genre was met with critical insinuations that he was attempting to "act black"(Parker, 2014). The type of music preferred by radio

distributors like Clear Channel Media reinforces perceptions of the criminal Black male. The culture industry projects small fragments of truth as the full truth; rap artists have taken advantage of the opportunity to make a profit; and consumers believe the mediated, narrow, and negative messages are authentic representations of the Black culture (Hart, 2009).

The U.S. criminal justice system operates in a biased manner with people it associates with the rap culture. For example, Louisiana rapper Terrance Hatch, known as Lil' Boosie, was tried for first-degree murder (Weiss, 2012). Prosecutors argued that a few cryptic words of one rap song were in fact a confession (Weiss, 2012). Hatch was found not guilty. Another example occurred on November 23, 2012, in Jacksonville, Florida. Michael Dunn pulled into a gas station in Jacksonville and parked next to a red Dodge Durango with four teenagers inside (Payne, 2014). The teens had come in for gum and cigarettes; Dunn, meanwhile, had just left his son's wedding with his fiancée, who had gone inside the convenience store for wine and chips (Payne, 2014). Dunn did not like the loud "rap crap," as he called it, coming from the teens' SUV. He asked them to turn down the music. An argument ensued, resulting in Dunn firing 10 bullets at the SUV, ostensibly because he did not like the music (Payne, 2014). Jordan Davis was struck and killed.

Dunn argued that he was threatened by the victim, Jordan Davis (Payne, 2014). No weapon was found in the victim's vehicle. Dunn was initially charged and convicted of the attempted murder of the passengers, but a mistrial was declared on the murder charges of Jordan Davis (Payne, 2014). Similar to the much publicized Trayvon Martin case, Jordan Davis's character was put on trial based on his race, his taste in music, and

the testimony of his killer (Buxton, 2015). In the Trayvon Martin case, George Zimmerman, similar to Michael Dunn, testified that Trayvon was a thug, an aggressor who attacked him without provocation (Buxton, 2015). Jordan Davis's social media profile, childhood friends, and choice of rap music were put on trial during the murder proceedings (Payne, 2014). Both the Zimmerman and Dunn juries were convinced enough by the defendants' initial testimonies that neither man was found guilty of first-degree murder.

A consistent obstacle can be found in societies afflicted with racial, economic, and political inequality. Critical factors hold some Blacks back from partaking in the individualistic ideals of American capitalism. As long as the narrow representations of Black culture continue to be produced by the media industry, exaggerated by rap artists, and accepted as truth by consumers, the historical perception that Black men and the Black community are responsible for their own inequalities will be perpetuated. America's crime will continue to be recycled throughout American culture, and those with societal influence will continue to justify their resistance of programs that foster equality in all forms of media and inclusion, thus continuing to weave racial, economic, and political inequalities into the fabric of American culture.

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APPENDIX A

Top 10 Radio Airplay Songs of 2014 by Genre

Top 10 Rap Airplay Songs of 2014

#	Title	Artist
1	Show Me	Kid Ink
2	Studio	School Boy Q
3	My Hitta	YG
4	Fancy	Iggy Azalea
5	Believe Me	Lil Wayne
6	The Monster	Eminem
7	Trophies	Young Money
8	All Me	Drake
9	Main Chick	Kid Ink
10	Part II	Jay Z

Top 10 Hip Hop Airplay Songs of 2014		
#	Title	Artist
1	Loyal	Chris Brown
2	Happy	Pharrell Williams
3	Drunk in Love	Beyonce
4	The Worst	Jheno Aiko
5	All of Me	John Legend
6	Show Me	Kid Ink
7	Partition	Beyonce
8	Studio	Schoolboy Q
9	It Won’t Stop	Sevyn Streeter
10	Good Kisser	Usher

Top 10 Country Airplay Songs of 2014

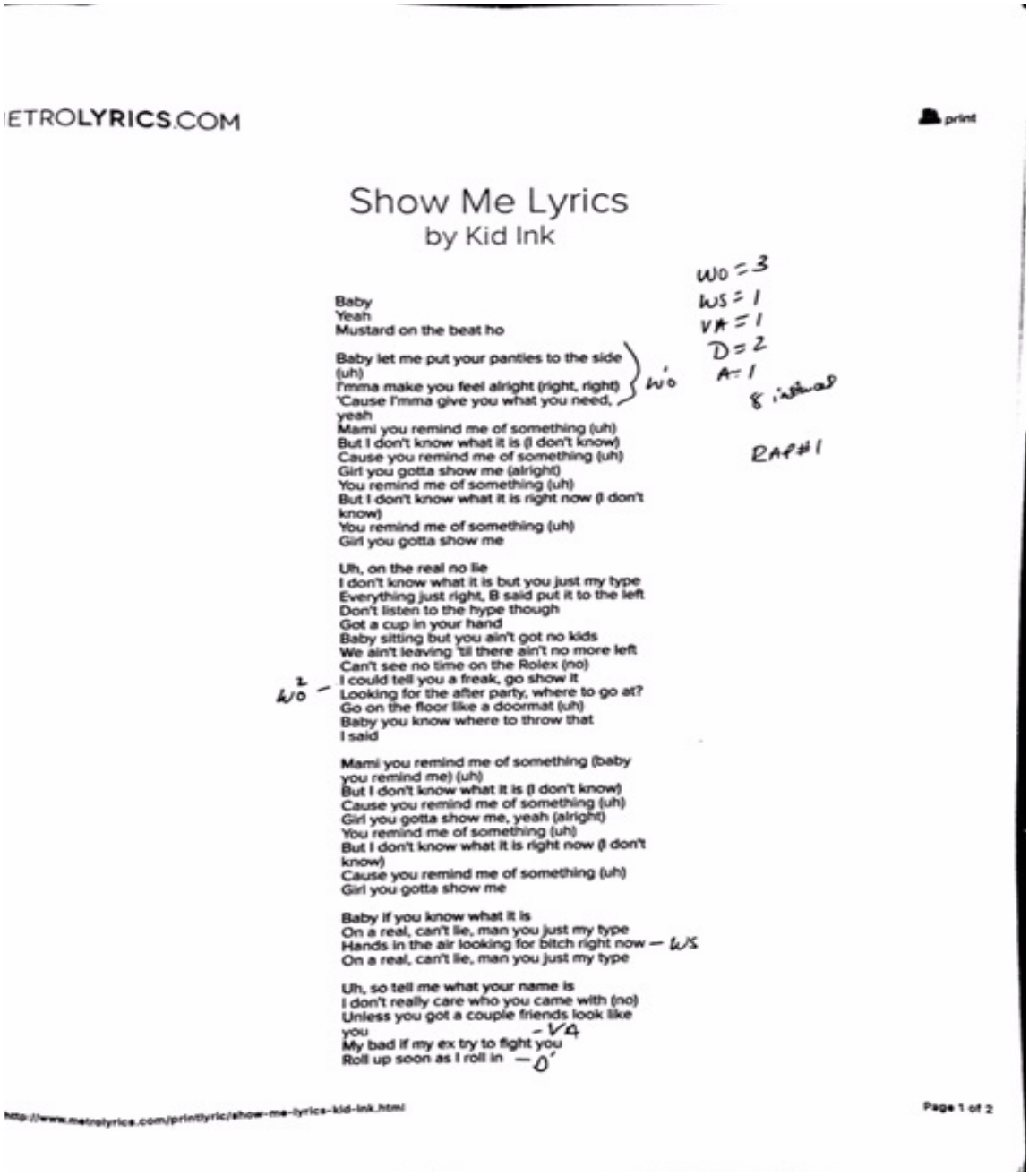
#	Title	Artist
1	Beat of the music	Brett Eldredge
2	Lettin' the night roll	Justin Moore
3	Where it's at	Dustin Lynch
4	We are tonight	Billy Currington
5	Ready set roll	Chase Rice
6	Dirt	Florida Georgia Line
7	Hope you get lonely tonight	Cole Swindle
8	Sunshine & Whiskey	Frankie Ballard
9	Whiskey in my water	Tyler Farr
10	Leave the night on	Sam Hunt

Top 10 Rock Airplay Songs of 2014

#	Title	Artist
1	Do I wanna Know?	Artic Monkeys
2	Come with me now	Kongos
3	Come a little closer	Cage The Elephant
4	Fever	The Black Keys
5	The Walker	Fitz and the Tantrums
6	Pompeii	Bastille
7	Riptide	Vance Joy
8	Bad Blood	Bastille
9	Team	Lorde
10	Dangerous	Big Data

APPENDIX B

Coding of rap song "Show Me"



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Show Me Lyrics
by Kid Ink

WO = 3
WS = 1
VA = 1
D = 2
A = 1
8 instead

RAP #1

Baby
Yeah
Mustard on the beat ho

Baby let me put your panties to the side (uh)
I'mma make you feel alright (right, right)
'Cause I'mma give you what you need, yeah
Mami you remind me of something (uh)
But I don't know what it is (I don't know)
Cause you remind me of something (uh)
Girl you gotta show me (alright)
You remind me of something (uh)
But I don't know what it is right now (I don't know)
You remind me of something (uh)
Girl you gotta show me

WO

Uh, on the real no lie
I don't know what it is but you just my type
Everything just right, B said put it to the left
Don't listen to the hype though
Got a cup in your hand
Baby sitting but you ain't got no kids
We ain't leaving 'til there ain't no more left
Can't see no time on the Rolex (no)
I could tell you a freak, go show it
Looking for the after party, where to go at?
Go on the floor like a doormat (uh)
Baby you know where to throw that
I said

2
WO

Mami you remind me of something (baby you remind me) (uh)
But I don't know what it is (I don't know)
Cause you remind me of something (uh)
Girl you gotta show me, yeah (alright)
You remind me of something (uh)
But I don't know what it is right now (I don't know)
Cause you remind me of something (uh)
Girl you gotta show me

Baby if you know what it is
On a real, can't lie, man you just my type
Hands in the air looking for bitch right now — WS
On a real, can't lie, man you just my type

Uh, so tell me what your name is
I don't really care who you came with (no)
Unless you got a couple friends look like you — VA
My bad if my ex try to fight you
Roll up soon as I roll in — D'

http://www.metrolyrics.com/printlyric/show-me-lyrics-kid-ink.html

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Security better get with the program
Too deep, ain't know where to stand
So high, ain't nowhere to land
You remind me of something missing
Misses, you got my full attention
Listen, let go of the attention
If I get a minute, I'll put your bad ass in detention

Baby let me put your panties to the side (uh)
I'mma make you feel alright (right, right)
'Cause I'mma give you what you need, yeah
Mami you remind me of something (uh)
(baby you remind me)
But I don't know what it is (I don't know)
Cause you remind me of something
Girl you gotta show me (alright)
Baby you remind me, you remind me of something (uh)
But I don't know what it is right now (I don't know)
Cause you remind me of something
Girl you gotta show me

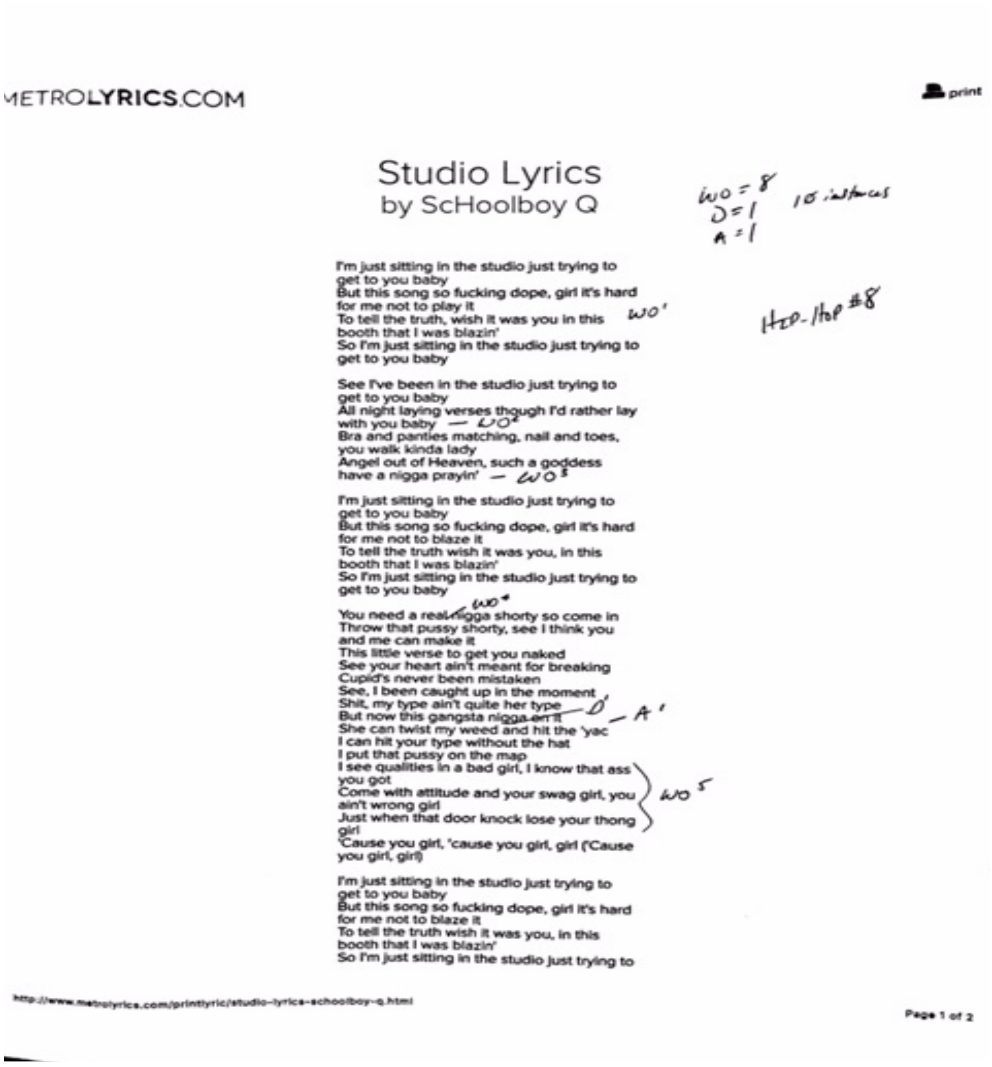
Baby if you know what it is
On a real, can't lie, man you just my type
Hands in the air looking for bitch right now
On a real, can't lie, man you just my type

Oh baby show me, show me something
Tomorrow I might be hungover, but that don't mean nothing
You see all night long, I've been wrong
Baby show me something
She gon' let me do it

Baby let me put your panties to the side (uh)
I'mma make you feel alright (right, right)
'Cause I'mma give you what you need, yeah
Mami you remind me of something (uh)
(baby you remind me)
But I don't know what it is (I don't know)
Cause you remind me of something
Girl you gotta show me (alright)
Baby you remind me, you remind me of something (uh)
But I don't know what it is right now (I don't know)
Cause you remind me of something
Girl you gotta show me

APPENDIX C

Coding for hip hop song “Studio”



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Studio Lyrics
by ScHoolboy Q

I'm just sitting in the studio just trying to
get to you baby
But this song so fucking dope, girl it's hard
for me not to play it
To tell the truth, wish it was you in this
booth that I was blazin'
So I'm just sitting in the studio just trying to
get to you baby

See I've been in the studio just trying to
get to you baby
All night laying verses though I'd rather lay
with you baby
Bra and panties matching, nail and toes,
you walk kinda lady
Angel out of Heaven, such a goddess
have a nigga prayin'

I'm just sitting in the studio just trying to
get to you baby
But this song so fucking dope, girl it's hard
for me not to blaze it
To tell the truth wish it was you, in this
booth that I was blazin'
So I'm just sitting in the studio just trying to
get to you baby

You need a real nigga shorty so come in
Throw that pussy shorty, see I think you
and me can make it
This little verse to get you naked
See your heart ain't meant for breaking
Cupid's never been mistaken
See, I been caught up in the moment
Shit, my type ain't quite her type
But now this gangsta nigga on it
She can twist my weed and hit the 'yac
I can hit your type without the hat
I put that pussy on the map
I see qualities in a bad girl, I know that ass
you got
Come with attitude and your swag girl, you
ain't wrong girl
Just when that door knock lose your thong
girl
'Cause you girl, 'cause you girl, girl ('Cause
you girl, girl)

I'm just sitting in the studio just trying to
get to you baby
But this song so fucking dope, girl it's hard
for me not to blaze it
To tell the truth wish it was you, in this
booth that I was blazin'
So I'm just sitting in the studio just trying to

http://www.metrolyrics.com/printlyric/studio-lyrics-schoolboy-q.html

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get to you baby

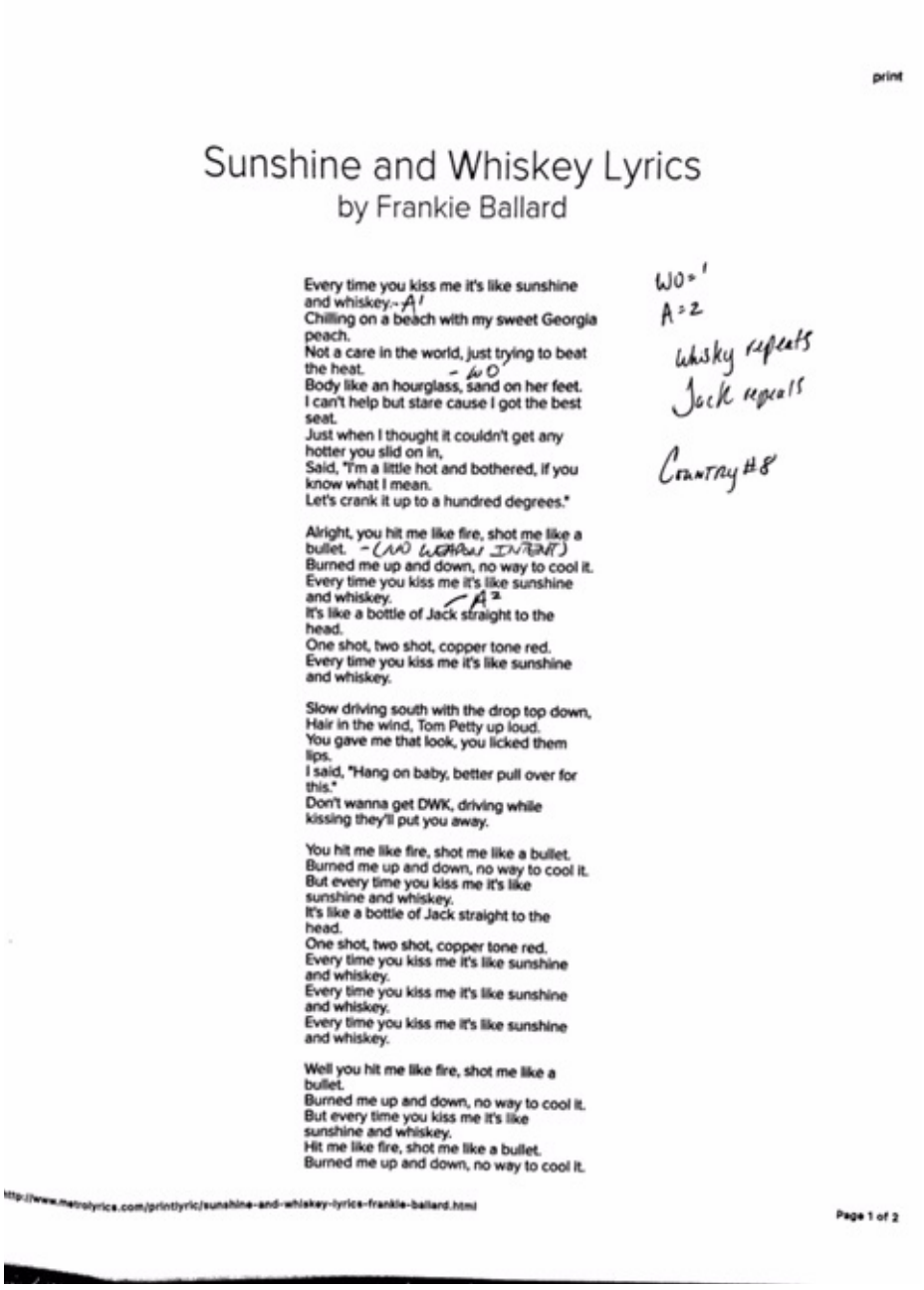
Throw and loc your pussy girl, you
knowing that your nigga faded
Can I hit that pussy way I wanna while this
record playin'?
Put my tongue in different places, play a
game of Operation
Na-na-na-na la-nla-la-la, you get what I'm
sayin'
No methaphors, nothing like that
I'm keeping it straight to the point with you
I'mma put this dick up all in-side-of-you

I'm just sitting in the studio just trying to
get to you baby
But this song so fucking dope, girl it's hard
for me not to blaze it
To tell the truth wish it was you, in this
booth that I was blazin'
So I'm just sitting in the studio just trying to
get to you baby

I'm just sitting in the studio just trying to
get to you baby
But this song so fucking dope, girl it's hard
for me not to blaze it
To tell the truth wish it was you, in this
booth that I was blazin'
So I'm just sitting in the studio just trying to
get to you baby

APPENDIX D

Coding for country song "Sunshine and Whiskey"



print

Sunshine and Whiskey Lyrics
by Frankie Ballard

Every time you kiss me it's like sunshine
and whiskey.- A'
Chilling on a beach with my sweet Georgia
peach.
Not a care in the world, just trying to beat
the heat. - W O'
Body like an hourglass, sand on her feet.
I can't help but stare cause I got the best
seat.
Just when I thought it couldn't get any
hotter you slid on in,
Said, "I'm a little hot and bothered, if you
know what I mean.
Let's crank it up to a hundred degrees."

Alright, you hit me like fire, shot me like a
bullet. - (NO WORDS! INTENT)
Burned me up and down, no way to cool it.
Every time you kiss me it's like sunshine
and whiskey. - A2
It's like a bottle of Jack straight to the
head.
One shot, two shot, copper tone red.
Every time you kiss me it's like sunshine
and whiskey.

Slow driving south with the drop top down,
Hair in the wind, Tom Petty up loud.
You gave me that look, you licked them
lips.
I said, "Hang on baby, better pull over for
this."
Don't wanna get DWK, driving while
kissing they'll put you away.

You hit me like fire, shot me like a bullet.
Burned me up and down, no way to cool it.
But every time you kiss me it's like
sunshine and whiskey.
It's like a bottle of Jack straight to the
head.
One shot, two shot, copper tone red.
Every time you kiss me it's like sunshine
and whiskey.
Every time you kiss me it's like sunshine
and whiskey.
Every time you kiss me it's like sunshine
and whiskey.

Well you hit me like fire, shot me like a
bullet.
Burned me up and down, no way to cool it.
But every time you kiss me it's like
sunshine and whiskey.
Hit me like fire, shot me like a bullet.
Burned me up and down, no way to cool it.

WO = 1
A = 2
Whisky repeats
Jack repeats
Country #8

http://www.metrolyrics.com/printlyric/sunshine-and-whiskey-lyrics-frankie-ballard.html

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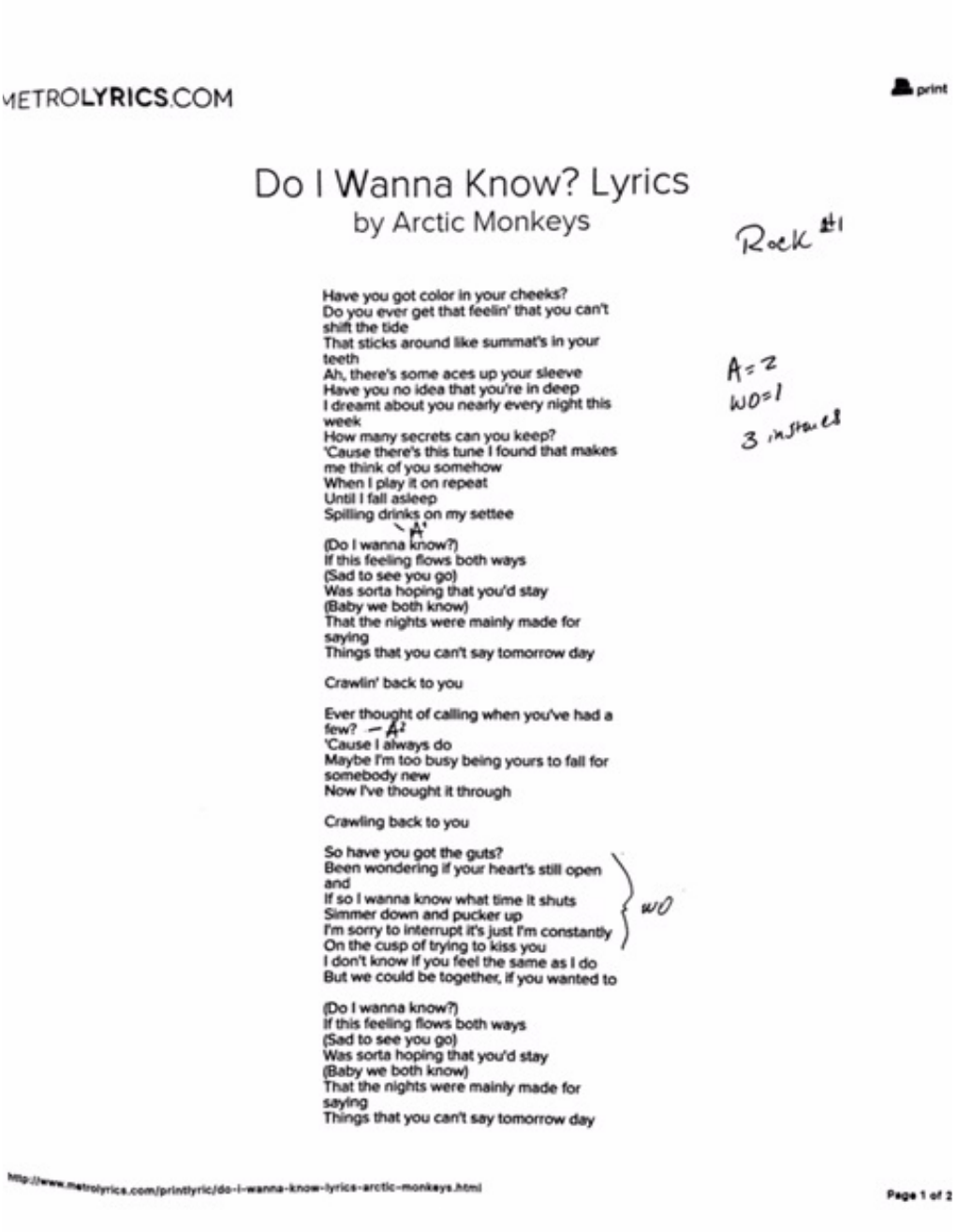
APPENDIX E

Coding for rock song "Do I wanna Know?"



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print

Do I Wanna Know? Lyrics

by Arctic Monkeys

Rock ±1

Have you got color in your cheeks?
Do you ever get that feelin' that you can't shift the tide
That sticks around like summat's in your teeth
Ah, there's some aces up your sleeve
Have you no idea that you're in deep
I dreamt about you nearly every night this week
How many secrets can you keep?
'Cause there's this tune I found that makes me think of you somehow
When I play it on repeat
Until I fall asleep
Spilling drinks on my settee

A=2
WO=1
3 instances

(Do I wanna know?)
If this feeling flows both ways
(Sad to see you go)
Was sorta hoping that you'd stay
(Baby we both know)
That the nights were mainly made for saying
Things that you can't say tomorrow day

Crawlin' back to you

Ever thought of calling when you've had a few?
'Cause I always do
Maybe I'm too busy being yours to fall for somebody new
Now I've thought it through

Crawling back to you

So have you got the guts?
Been wondering if your heart's still open and
If so I wanna know what time it shuts
Simmer down and pucker up
I'm sorry to interrupt it's just I'm constantly
On the cusp of trying to kiss you
I don't know if you feel the same as I do
But we could be together, if you wanted to

WO

(Do I wanna know?)
If this feeling flows both ways
(Sad to see you go)
Was sorta hoping that you'd stay
(Baby we both know)
That the nights were mainly made for saying
Things that you can't say tomorrow day

http://www.metrolyrics.com/printlyric/do-i-wanna-know-lyrics-arctic-monkeys.html

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Crawling back to you

Ever thought of calling when you've had a few? (calling when you've had a few)
'Cause I always do ('cause I always do)
Maybe I'm too busy being yours to fall for somebody new
Now I've thought it through

Crawling back to you, (do I wanna know?)
If this feeling flows both ways
(Sad to see you go)
Was sorta hoping that you'd stay
(Baby we both know)
That the nights were mainly made for saying
Things that you can't say tomorrow day

(Do I wanna know?)
Too busy being yours to fall
(Sad to see you go)
Ever thought of calling darling?
(Do I wanna know)
Do you want me crawling back to you?